1-1-1980

Theoretical considerations in delinquency intervention.

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THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN DELINQUENCY INTERVENTION

A Dissertation Presented

By

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1980

Education

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TO MICHAEL, PAUL, BILLY, AND DAVID

There is no classroom for what they teach.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this dissertation was the result of the support, encouragement, and guidance of numerous individuals whom I must acknowledge here. The members of my dissertation committee--Theodore Slovin, Bailey Jackson and Larry Dye--have provided me with helpful advice and direction. Larry Dye, in addition, has had primary influence on my professional and academic direction in the field of delinquency.

There are also numerous individuals I have interacted with professionally--youth, foster parents and colleagues--who have contributed much to my learning and to whom I am grateful.

My family has been most patient and supportive throughout long courses of study. My parents, Ray and Vera Townsend, my parents-in-law, Leo and Ann Murphy, and my wife, Kathleen, and children, Jessica, Peter and Dianna, have all invested in this effort.

I am grateful to my typist, Margery Hulbert, for her prodigious work through the several stages which lead to completion of this paper.

I must acknowledge the major contribution made by William

Feinstein, Ph.D. Dr. Feinstein was enormously helpful in the initial stages of my dissertation. He provided the seeds for many of the directions developed in the first three chapters and his gentle, and sometimes not so gentle, prodding saw me through to completion. I am indebted to Dr. Feinstein for his participation in this whole venture.

ABSTRACT

Theoretical Considerations in

Delinquency Intervention

May 1980

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In a review of relevant literature on adolescence and delinquency, this inquiry examines the cultural and psychosocial developments of youth and identifies several important concepts which provide rationales for delinquency intervention. An understanding of Separation-Individuation, peer culture development, developmental boundaries, authority/responsibility issues, family considerations, sub-culture environments, and community interaction levels, provides guidelines for designing delinquency intervention strategies.

An examination of society's system for responding to delinquent behavior provides further conceptual guidelines. An historical review of the juvenile justice system's devel-

opment and an analysis of its component systems, reveals that the system feeds and reinforces counter identity development. The juvenile justice system tends to present diffused authority to youth and to reinforce counter identity formation through labelling.

When placed into outline format, the concepts abstracted from the psychosocial and systems-based inquiry into adolescence and delinquency can guide the design or evaluation of intervention programs.

Using this "intervention" outline, an evaluative analysis of the Community Detention Program (CDP), yields a number of findings. Conclusions and recommendations drawn from the findings suggest the re-definition of the program's primary task, programmatic restructuring in line with separation-individuation principles, clarifying boundaries, strengthening the program's family approach, and developing a strong groupwork focus in residence programs.

Implementation of these recommendations will provide CDP with an intensified and systematic focus based on sound intervention principles.

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ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND OF THE INQUIRY

INTRODUCTION

The development of community based delinquency intervention programs has been a major trend in juvenile corrections in the last twenty years. Federal agencies have been funding such programs since the late 1950's.[1] In 1967, the development and funding of new programs received major impetus from the creation of The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) following publication of The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Commission's task force report, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, provided a specific boost to the development and im-

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[1] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services and the National Program for the Development of Strategies for Juvenile Delinquency Prevention: Institute for Social Research, Fordham University, Conference Proceedings: The Closing Down of Institutions and New Strategies in Youth Services. (Newton, Massachusetts, June, 1952).

plementation of delinquency intervention programs.[2]

As part of this trend, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts implemented many new programs as its youth services system underwent a series of radical changes in the 1970's. Following unsuccessful efforts to revamp institutional programs along "therapeutic community" lines, Commissioner Jerome Miller began closing down Massachusetts' five "training schools" in 1972. In their place, many community based residential and non-residential services were rapidly and often hastily developed, some with LEAA funding.[3]

Statement of the Problem

While new intervention programs in Massachusetts reflected the finest humanistic standards and avoided many of the abuses of an institutional system, they have not impact-

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[2]Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Annual Report, 1977 by John A. Calhoun, Commissioner (Boston: Alfred C. Holland, State Purchasing Agent, 1977), p. 10.

[3]Yitzhak Bakal, Closing Correctional Institutions Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1973), p. 164.

ed the delinquent adolescents committed to the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services (DYS) to any significant degree. Recently published recidivism statistics are not superior to pre-1969 levels.[4] The services provided by these new programs were not successful in reducing the delinquent behavior of DYS youth to a degree consistent with stated goals. David McClelland explains one reason why such programs can fail to produce desirable behavioral changes:

> Producing change is difficult often because neither we nor the people we are trying to help have a very precise knowledge of what is or could be motivating them. When everyone involved correctly understands the motivational elements of the situation in a concrete behavioral way, then and only then are we likely to bring about change.[5]

It can be concluded based on McClelland's statement that delinquency intervention programs in Massachusetts were unable to reduce delinquent recidivism significantly below 1969 levels because they did not take into account all of

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[4]Alden D. Miller, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Robert B. Coates, A Theory of Social Reform (Cambridge, Mass.: Bellinger Publishing Co., 1977), p. 18.

[5]David McClelland, "Managing Motivation to Expand Human Freedom," American Psychologist 33 (March, 1978): 201.

the motivational factors that contribute to recidivist behavior.

Purpose and Objectives

Intervening in delinquent behavior presupposes a knowledge of adolescent psychological development as well as an understanding of environmental influences. Family, cultural, sub-cultural, and other factors must be considered, and the impact of the social institutions designed to control delinquent youth must be accounted for.

Therefore, the purpose of this inquiry is to identify major psychosocial determinants of delinquent behavior from relevant theoretical literature and to prioritize these causative elements into a format that can be used in both the design and evaluation of intervention programs. A clear picture of the factors which motivate delinquent behavior, and a method for integrating such factors into the design of programs, can insure that delinquency intervention efforts address the causes of delinquent behavior.

The specific objectives of this inquiry are:

1. To present major perspectives on adolescent psychosocial development found in the literature, specifically

the concept of identity formation as it applies to delinquent behavior and delinquency intervention

2. To present a major perspective on deviance and its social-cultural contexts as the basis for the juvenile justice system
3. To survey the history and development of the juvenile justice system and present a systems-structural analysis of its organization
4. To integrate theories of adolescent development, deviance, delinquency, and organizational design into a set of delinquency intervention program design guidelines
5. To demonstrate use of these guidelines through evaluation of the Community Detention Program

Definition of Terms

To facilitate common understandings of the terminology utilized in this paper, the following terms are defined.

Adolescence. Adolescence is a transitional stage of growth and maturation between childhood and adulthood. This stage is initiated following the onset of puberty and is charac-

terized by radical physical and physiological changes and by psychosocial adjustments to the changed social-cultural expectations of peers, family, and other reference groups. The characteristics of adolescence are a function of the culture in which an individual lives. The onset, duration and completion of adolescence are culture specific. In Western cultures for instance, adolescence has an extended duration compared to some other cultures. The end of adolescence even with a single cultural setting eludes a facile definition. Gail Sheehy in Passages[6] finds adolescence ending in the early twenties when a young person establishes a provisional identity. More traditional views mark the close of adolescence at age eighteen.[7] The "true" end of adolescence varies according to factors such as age, social class, racial or ethnic background, sex, and a variety of cultural and subcultural characteristics.

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[6]Gail Sheehy, Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life (New York: Bantam Books, 1977), p. 49.

[7]Elizabeth B. Hurlock, Adolescent Development (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), p. 50.

Identity. Identity is a "subjective sense of invigorating sameness and continuity" or an individual's sense of "the real me"... It is "the style of one's individuality and this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others."[8] One's identity or sense of self encompasses all those attitudes, values, and expectations that characterize one's behavior.

Deviance. "Deviance is behavior that varies sufficiently from the norms of a group that if known it would become a defensible or legitimate basis for negative sanctions in informal social interaction or by official agencies of the society."[9]

Delinquency. This study does not encompass the full range of delinquent behavior but uses the term delinquent and delinquency to refer to youth who commit the middle range of

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[8]Erik H. Erikson, Identity, Youth, and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), p. 50.

[9]Arthur Lewis Wood, Deviant Behavior and Control Strategies (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1971), p. 6.

delinquent offenses. These are youth who chronically commit crimes such as theft, breaking and entering, car stealing, larceny, shoplifting, and minor assaults. These youth penetrate deeply into the juvenile justice system and comprise the largest group of young people committed to the correctional arm of juvenile justice. This study will not deal with youth who commit seriously violent offenses, retarded or psychotic offenders, or status offenders, i.e. runaways, incorrigibles, truants.

Juvenile justice system. The juvenile justice system is the level of the criminal justice system which works with child and adolescent offenders within a specific age range defined by law in each state. In Massachusetts, a child or adolescent offender is treated as a juvenile from age seven until his seventeenth birthday.[10] The juvenile justice system uses procedures that are required by law to be the same as

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[10] Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 110, sec. 52.

procedures applied to adults[11] The juvenile justice system consists of three subsystems or components.

Police. The role of police departments in the juvenile justice system as prescribed by law is more limited than that of any other component system.[12] Police are responsible for investigating and arresting juvenile offenders and for passing them on to courts. Police are the first contact young offenders have with a formal system.

Courts. The courts are responsible for legally determining that an offender is delinquent (guilty) or not delinquent (not guilty); for deciding the subsequent treatment of offenders found to be delinquent; and for providing treatment to certain offenders.[13]

Juvenile correctional agencies. Correctional agencies under state or local governments are responsible for the

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[11] Stanley Z. Fisher, "The Juvenile Justice System: An Overview," in Juvenile Law Practice, Massachusetts Continuing Legal Education, (Boston: New England Law Institute, Inc., 1977), p. 5.

[12] Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 119, sec. 54, 67.

[13] Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 119, sec. 1, 2, 53.

punishment or treatment of the more serious or chronic offenders committed by courts to these agencies. The types of treatment provided by juvenile corrections agencies include reform schools, training schools, group homes, halfway houses, and aftercare programs. For the purposes of this inquiry, state juvenile corrections components of the juvenile justice system will be referred to as Youth Services.

Delinquency intervention. An organized effort to formally interrupt delinquent behavior and as a result of some planned interaction with or treatment of individuals or groups, to reduce or prevent further delinquent behavior.

Detention. "The temporary care of alleged delinquent offenders in some form of residential custody (or supervision) pending court disposition."[14]

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[14]U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, State Responsibility for Juvenile Detention Care, by John J. Downey (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 1.

Throughout this inquiry a number of additional terms will receive detailed definition to provide technical clarity within specific contexts.

Limitations of the Inquiry

The specific limitations of this inquiry are:

1. The inquiry is an effort to draw, from a body of theory, a comprehensive framework for the development of delinquency intervention strategies. While much of the theory to be presented is empirically derived, the actual findings are based on the impressionistic examination of theory and practice and, therefore, do not have the validity of a rigidly controlled experimental study
2. Since the writer's direct experiences with delinquents is limited to Western Massachusetts, the findings of this inquiry may be somewhat limited in their applicability to other geographical areas, especially large urban areas
3. The findings of this inquiry are limited in their application only to the defined group of delinquents
4. This inquiry applies significant perspectives of ado-

lescent development, deviance, delinquency, and juvenile justice to the problem of delinquency intervention program design. The inquiry is limited in that it does not apply an exhaustive literature review to the defined problem

5. The findings of this inquiry are limited in their application to juvenile justice system contexts that are similar in structure or in legal and social parameters to the Massachusetts juvenile justice system

Significance of the Inquiry

This inquiry is intended to better define and strengthen the rationales upon which delinquency intervention programs are based and upon which intervention strategies are developed. Specifically, the inquiry offers guidelines for delinquency program planners that includes:

1. An analysis of the juvenile justice system and the organizational factors requiring consideration in developing or evaluating intervention programs
2. The incorporation of theories of human and adolescent development, deviance, and delinquency into delinquency intervention strategies

Organization of the Inquiry

To accomplish the purpose and objectives stated herein, the organization of this inquiry varies slightly from traditional formats to achieve optimal presentation of the findings.

Chapter I describes the orientation and background of the inquiry and includes an introduction, statement of the problem, purpose and objectives, definition of terms, limitations of the inquiry, and significance of the inquiry.

Chapter II is a review of relevant literature and discusses significant theoretical perspectives and trends concerning adolescent development and delinquency.

At variance from traditional formats, Chapter III will be an additional review of related literature and theory covering perspectives on deviance and a history and systems/structural analysis of the juvenile justice system. The complete delinquency intervention program design and intervention guidelines are also presented.

Chapter IV focuses on methodology of the Community Detention Program evaluation and describes how the intervention guidelines were applied.

Chapter V presents and analyzes the major and minor findings derived from evaluation of the Community Detention Shelter Program.

Chapter VI summarizes the study, draws conclusions, and makes recommendations.

The appendix is composed of program descriptions and evaluation procedures and reports.

C H A P T E R I I

ADOLESCENT PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND DELINQUENCY

Introduction

Adolescent development is a function of both intra-psychic dynamics and socio-cultural influences. Juvenile delinquency must be understood in terms of both of these internal and external factors.

An overview of the various aspects of adolescent growth commences with a discussion of the culture specific nature of adolescence, which is observed in the fact that the parameters of the adolescent stage change from one culture to another. The major historical and cultural influences which have shaped the experience of young people in American society are then demonstrated.

In light of basic principles of human development, adolescence can be seen as an importatn step in the separation-individuation process. Identity and identity formation take on special significance in an examination of the psychosocial development of the individual. As individual psychosocial development is discussed, the identity formation process

and its implications will be presented in some detail, followed by a discussion of the cultural and sub-cultural influences on identity formation.

Looking more specifically at juvenile delinquency, it can be demonstrated that the identity configuration assumed by a delinquent adolescent can serve developmental needs. The influence of cultural and sub-cultural factors are also integrated in this section.

The chapter closes with a presentation of the psychosocial developmental considerations upon which delinquency intervention strategies can be based.

Individual and Socio-cultural Perspectives

Parameters of adolescence. Adolescence in Western culture is seen as a specific stage of physical, social, and psychological development that accomplishes the transition from childhood to adulthood. In defining the boundaries and substance of this stage, major development theorists describe adolescence as a lengthy and consequential interval on the continuum of human growth.

Adolescence begins at, or shortly after, the onset of puberty according to theorists such as Blos, Erikson,

Hurlock, and Muuss.[15] Females commence adolescent maturation at the age of eleven and boys at around the age of thirteen.

Descriptions of the process of youthful development in literature have in common their identification of the adaptive nature of adolescence. Blos, Muuss and Erikson all speak of the new adjustments made in adolescence; adjustments to new conditions of life; adjustments that distinguish child behavior from adult behavior; and adjustments that force individuals into new adult choices and commitments.[16]

Adolescence is completed with the attainment of a psychosocial identity or self. Blos describes the identity formation as a process of subordinating childhood identifica-

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[15]See Peter Blos, On Adolescence: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 11; Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), p. 261; Hurlock, p. 3; Rolf Muuss, Theories of Adolescence (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1943), p. 4.

[16]See Blos, p. 11; Muuss, p. 4; Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 155.

tions and total consolidation and integration of new identifications.[17] The accomplishment of identity, self, and new identifications is the essence of adolescent development and marks the closing of the stage. Gail Sheehy's thoughts on the end of adolescence summarize the statements of many theorists:[18]

> We are adolescents until we reach the point in our twenties when we take hold of a provisional identity...and...replace the parental view of the world with our own.[19]

A culturally defined stage. It should be noted that while Blos, Muuss, and Erikson define the adolescent process as a stage lasting ten or more years, they are speaking from the context of Western culture. Universally, adolescent growth occurs gradually but within a given culture the parameters of the growth process, its duration, outcome, and much of its content are defined by cultural influences.

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[17] Blos, p. 177.

[18] See Blos, p. 177; Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 155; Muuss, p. 16.

[19] Sheehy, p. 49.

Benedict has noted that prolonged developmental stages, such as adolescence, are not universal but are culturally defined constructs which are induced by discontinuities in cultural conditioning.[20] The social and legal practices and institutions in a given society and culture may produce discontinuities in this growth process which place gradual continuous maturation into discontinuous discrete stages. In some cultures, the difference between "children" in their teenage years and "adults" can be perceived only in terms of the social and legal rules that apply to them rather than in terms of any perceivable biological or physical distinctions.[21]

In moving from one culture to another, there is great variation in the age, sex, and level of physical development at which a culture expects responsible vs. non-responsible behavior, dominant vs. submissive behavior, and display of

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[20]Ruth Benedict "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," in The Adolescent: A Book of Readings, ed. Jerome M. Seidman (New York: Dryden Press, 1953), p. 475.

[21]Ibid, p. 466.

contrasted sex roles.[22]

Eaton has demonstrated the cross cultural variation in expectations in contrasting the Hutterite sub-culture in the mid-Western United States with contemporary American adolescence.

The Hutterites are a communal religious sub-culture located in self-contained colonies in the Dakotas, Montana, and the prairie provinces of Canada. They engage in highly mechanized agriculture and value pacifism, adult baptism, communal ownership of property, and simple living.[23] When a child in the Hutterite culture attains the age of fifteen, childhood is ended and expectations of adult behavior apply to each individual. In addition to concrete changes such as leaving school, employment, and adult privileges, there is an increase in communal tolerance of deviant behavior.[24] Discipline is relaxed at a time when youngsters feel that as

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[22]Ibid, p. 467.

[23]Joseph Eaton, "Adolescence in a Communal Society" Mental Hygiene 48 (January, 1964): 66.

[24]Ibid, p. 67.

adults, they should be allowed to try things that are forbidden. There is some recognition by Hutterites of the needs of adolescents to think for themselves.[25]

The effect of both these concrete changes in status and expectations and in communal attitudes is to soften the discontinuity of child and adult roles. The selection of a career and work requirements, the assumption of responsibility for one's behavior, and the disciplining of one's impulses all take place within a tolerant and supportive atmosphere. Children ascend more gradually into the adult world and are encouraged to participate meaningfully in the life of the adult community.[26]

In contrast, the 15 year old in the mainstream American culture is only midway through adolescence and generally unable to make any meaningful vocational or behavioral choices. The American adolescent is constrained from any real participation in adult world until later in life. Emphasis is placed

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[25] Ibid, p. 68.

[26] Ibid, p. 73.

on adolescent submission to the culture's controlling expectations.[27]

These differences in a young person's experiences in Hutterite and mainstream American cultures are explained not by physical or biological developments, but by the varying expectations of each culture on the individual. There are few culturally universal characteristics of adolescence.[28]

American adolescence. American adolescence is viewed as an arduous and problematic stage. G. Stanley Hall used the phrase "storm and stress" to describe the adolescent experience.[29] The writings of Blos and Erikson have explained many of the difficult adjustments young people must achieve. Adolescence is seen as a problem age in American culture and youthful anxieties are often assumed to be an unavoidable by-

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[27] Ira Goldenburg, "Alternative Models for the Rehabilitation of the Youthful Offender," in Closing Correctional Institutions, ed. Yitzhak Bakal (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1973), p. 52.

[28] Muuss, p. 159.

[29] G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1905), 1:xiii.

product of physical growth and maturation.[30]

Gesell, Ilg, and Ames have concluded that adolescence is not necessarily a turbulent, erratic, or troublesome period[31] nor is it universally a period of storm and stress. The degree of anxiety youth experience as well as the areas in which it occurs are culturally conditioned[32] by historical and environmental influences in American culture.

The role of the family. One such influence having major impact on adolescence is the steady loss over time of vital functions of the family. The growth of urban industrialization at the expense of family institutions and a family centered household has been documented by Beels.[33] As American culture became more complex, bureaucratic, and technical, the state took over more and more family func-

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[30] Eaton, p. 66.

[31] Arnold Gesell, Francis A. Ilg, and Louis B. Ames, Youth: The Years from Ten to Sixteen (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), p. 150.

[32] Eaton, p. 66.

[33] C. Christian Beels "Whatever Happened to Father" New York Times Magazine (Aug. 24, 1974) :11.

tions, including education, discipline, work, value transmission and moral training. As these functions were assumed, the authority of parents and the family as a whole was weakened. Families in general have been losing influence over their children as the authority and power of the state increased throughout Western history.[34] This trend has affected the groups in our culture with the least ability to defend against it and particularly lower class and minority group families. As C. Christian Beels states it:

> The ultimate father in our society is an agency: family court or police...Where the extended family and the ultimate patriarch once stood, here again stands an agent of society.[35]

Extending the age of childhood. In the late nineteenth century, the rationalization of the Western family was combined with major social developments to produce changes in the definition of childhood especially for the children of lower class, racial, and ethnic groups. Well-intentioned

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[34]Eda Spielman "Inside Out: A Critical Perspective on the Juvenile Justice System, (Master's Thesis, Goddard College, 1975), p. 39.

[35]Beels, p. 54.

social legislation such as child labor and compulsory education laws had the effect of keeping youth out of the job market and made it difficult for young people to survive on their own. The age at which children left home increased, creating additional economic burdens for parents as well as an emotional strain for youth. A prolonged and unnatural dependence of teenagers on their parents and an eventual inflexible separation from the family was the result.[36] With this forced dependence and growing separation from adulthood, young people came to be seen as apart and different from either children or adults. The behavior of youth under these unnatural circumstances was defined as unstable and emotional. The weakening authority of parents and the family structure was unable to effectively contain it. A new unstable stage of life was created. Documentation of this new stage by the social and legal voices of the early twentieth century served as the rationale for juvenile court acts and

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[36]Spielman, p. 40.

other legal sanctions imposed by governments.[37]

America's problem adolescent. The historical and social development of American adolescence underscores Ira Goldenburg's vivid summation of the socio-cultural rationales for adolescent problems:

> Adolescence becomes a problem only in those cultures which because of particular economic, social, and/or sexual legacies, actively engage in developing specific procedures aimed at excluding the adolescent from full social participation.[38]

The historical, social, economic, and sexual developments of American culture have created an artificial dependence of young people on adults and have limited their participation in adult society at a time when youth are anxious to assume adult responsibilities and roles. Adults have had to assume the role of limiting the normal social, sexual, and developmental impulses of teenagers until these "children" are

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[37] John Demos and Virginia Demos "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," Journal of Marriage and the Family 31 (November, 1969): 636.

[38] Goldenburg, p. 52.

ready for our culture's definition of adulthood.[39]

Goldenburg notes that the reaction of young people to adult controls is a variety of "institutionally induced crises."[40] The tortuous resolution of many issues of adolescence - self-worth, identity, competence, and responsibility - are attributable to the culture's control of youth.[41]

Adolescent behavior that is labeled anti-social, maladaptive or pathological may be at least in part a reaction to the restrictive conditions enveloping teenagers in our culture, especially those from lower class, ethnic, racial, and minority backgrounds.

SUMMARY. The basic parameters of adolescence as a developmental stage in Western culture have been discussed. Knowing that human development occurs as a gradual process of small steps, the Western view of adolescence as a long and monu-

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[39] Spielman, p. 37.

[40] Goldenburg, p. 53.

[41] Ibid.

mental phase of growth is explained as the result of the complex interaction of social, cultural and historical conditions.

The urbanization and industrialization of this country in the nineteenth century with its accompanying compulsory education and child labor laws resulted in young people becoming more dependent on adults for longer periods of time. The behavioral problems engendered by this prolonged childhood were dealt with by society through controlling and restrictive institutions. Youth from lower class families and racial and linguistic minority groups were most vulnerable to the problems of the "new adolescence" and to the oppressive intervention of the social institutions put in place to deal with adolescent behavior.

Having this perspective of the socio-cultural forces which have influenced American Adolescence is essential in the examination of the psychosocial developmental processes of adolescence which follows in the next section of this chapter.

Psychosocial Development

There is a basic goal which is reached when the process of adolescent psychosocial development is completed. This goal is the establishment of an integrated self or identity.[42]

Erikson views development as a continuing process of response to conflict, change and growth.[43] In the case of pre-adolescent children, growth occurs in response to marked physical changes and to new social-psychological expectations in the environment. With adolescence, there is a loss of childhood and a loss of those reference points, sources of support and relationships which were functional in childhood but have no utility in adolescence. These losses disrupt for the child what Peckham refers to as the:

> drive towards order, - (the need) to perceive the environment as comprehensible and to make

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[42] Blos, p. 12.

[43] Erikson, Identity Youth and Crisis, p. 91.

successful predictions about the future.[44]

Adolescence is the process of re-establishing order, testing out new basic a-sumptions about life and self, mastering a new environment, and developing new reference points and sources of support. Order is important for adolescents in particular because many of the tensions and anxieties associated with a prolonged stage of growth can be managed only within some orderly psychosocial structure. This structure for the adolescent is his/her identity.[45]

Identity. Erikson defines identity as:

> a subjective sense of invigorating sameness and continuity...or a...mental or moral attitude in which one feels most deeply and intensely active and alive...or feels "This is the real me." It is the style of one's individuality and this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others.

Alfred Adler's concept of "life style" is synonomous with identity. Life style is the consistent theme of a person's behavior over time, the patterns of thought and be-

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[44]Morse Peckham, Man's Rage for Chaos (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. xl.

[45]Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 132.

havior which characterize an individual and the interpolated psychosocial self seen in behavior.[47] Identity can bear the distinct cultural, class, and social characteristics of the individual being observed.

Salvador Minuchin depicts the experience of identity as having two elements: a sense of belonging and a sense of separateness. A child accommodates and belongs to a family group but through participation in family subsystems or extra-familial groups also develops a sense of separateness and individuation. Adolescence in Minuchin's terms means achieving a new sense of separateness and a new sense of belonging.

These various conceptions of identity have in common the view of one's sense of self as encompassing those attitudes, values, and expectations that characterize behavior. Adolescent identity and separation-individuation. In re-

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[47]Rudolf Dreikurs, Fundamentals of Adlerian Psychology (New York: Greenburg Publishers, 1950), p. 44.

[48]Salvador Minuchin, Families and Family Therapy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 47.

sponse to physical changes, the social-psychological environment places new expectations on youth which require complicated adjustments. Adolescent identity forms as the youth completes a number of developmental tasks. For Western culture, Robert Havighurst has produced the most well known description of adolescent developmental tasks and expectations based on the works of Rank, Freud, Adler, Erikson, and Lewin.

1. Accepting one's physique and accepting a masculine or feminine role.
2. Establish new relations with age mates of both sexes.
3. Emotional independence of parents and other adults.
4. Achieve assurance of economic independence.
5. Select and prepare for an occupation.
6. Develop intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence.
7. Desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.
8. Preparing for marriage and family life.
9. Building conscious values in harmony with an adequate scientific world picture.[49]

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[49]Muuss, p. 109.

What is evident through this list is Mahler's principle of separation-individuation. Each of Havighurst's tasks is is some way an expectation on a young person to further differentiate self, to achieve increasing separation from parents and family, and to create a more individuated existence. Completing each task allows one to become a separate and individual person within American culture.

Separation-individuation as described by Mahler, Colman, and Blos accounts for the process of physical, emotional and social separation from parental and adult figures, intertwined with a progressive differentiation of self and achievement of identity. Identity is a crucial step in the separation-individuation process that characterizes all human development from birth to death.[50]

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[50]See Margaret Mahler, "On the First Three Sub-phases of the Separation-Individuation Process," International Journal of Psycho-Analysis 53 (1952) : 333-338; idem, "Thoughts about Development and Individuation" in The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child 18, (New York: International Universities Press, Inc. 1963.); Arthur D. Colman, "Group Consciousness as a Developmental Phase,": eds. Arthur D. Colman and Harold W. Bexton, Group Relations Reader (Sausalito, Calif.: GREX, 1975), pp. 35-42; Blos, p. 19.

Identity formation. The seeds of identity begin with an individuation process which culminates in the second year of life with the child distinguishing between self and non-self. A "This is not me" experience for a child is a major event in the individuation process and a first autonomous step in identity formation.[51]

The family is the matrix of identity formation according to Minuchin.[52] Families mold and program a child's behavior. The schema of early identity is "I am what others (the family) believe me to be."[53] Differences in families as a result of class, cultural, and socio-economic distinctions can be seen clearly in the identities of family members. As the child develops, sources of identity shift gradually to beyond the family. This shift is not easily accomplished. When the family is such an overwhelming source of identity, attempts at separation or independence may be thwarted by the

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[51] Blos, p. 12.

[52] Minuchin, p. 48.

[53] Blos, p. 224.

threat of loss of identity. A prolonged childhood can result.[54]

The identity formation process involves children identifying with their parents and those aspects of adult behavior by which they are most affected. These identifications become part of the child and his/her behavior. Just prior to adolescence, there exists an understanding of what behavior will bring a sense of importance or superiority, of what behavior is valued and what behavior is not. Pre-adolescent children have had exposure to a variety of experiences and identifications and have formulated a hierarchy of expectations and assumptions about the world, the self and the future.[55] This hierarchy is the germinal identity which is verified and tested by the experience of adolescence. Some elements of the hierarchy survive and others are discarded. The process utilized in this "self-sorting" is a complex one:

> It employs...simultaneous reflection and observa-

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 163.

> tion, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which other's judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him. This process is for the most part unconscious.[56]

The outcome is a new configuration of identity, which serves to integrate and organize in hierarchic fashion, the new functions, behaviors, and capabilities of adolescence. This hierarchic structure of the self will not acquire stability and fixity until a young person has passed through:

> ...stages of self-consciousness and fragmented existence. The oppositional, rebellious and resistive strivings, the stages of experimentation, the testing of self by going to excess--all have positive usefulness in the process of self-definition.[57]

Periods of unstable or conflicting behavior can disrupt the integration process but have great usefulness for identity formation even if the only conclusion reached by the young person is that a particular behavior is "not me."

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[56] Ibid, p. 22.

[57] Blos, p. 12.

Behavior. The behavioral expressions accompanying identity formation in adolescence receive much attention in American culture. Robert J. Lifton in describing the "self-process" style of Protean man has eloquently defined the behavioral style of American young people.

> The Protean style of self-process is characterized by an interminable series of experiments and explorations, some shallow, some profound, each of which can readily be abandoned in favor of still new psychological quests.[58]

Interference in or limitation of this experimental, explorative behavior may provoke wildly resistive responses from a young person. The temptation of many is to label such behavior as pathological. To understand this style, however, requires alteration of one's judgments about what is disturbed or pathological and recognition that such behavior is an adaptive response to a challenge of identity and of the basic assumptions behind the young person's character at a given point in time. Erik Erikson summarizes this point suc-

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[58]Robert J. Lifton, Boundaries (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), p. 38.

cinctly:

> Should a young person feel that the environment tries to deprive him too radically of all forms of expression which permit him to develop and integrate the next step, he may resist with the wild strength encountered in animals who are suddenly forced to defend their lives.[59]

Adolescents reacting to intrusion into the identity formation process are in fact defending their sense of being and the unique order and integration of their existence at that time. For example, adolescents from racial, ethnic or socio-economic sub-cultures who react strongly to the intrusive demands of the mainstream culture are defending their particular sense of being.

Behavioral themes. Several themes appear consistently during the identity formation process. Erikson strongly emphasizes the young person's push for autonomy particularly in American culture.[60]

The anxiety generated by the loss of childhood dependency is often expressed as anger, a much more serviceable

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[59] Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 130.

[60] Ibid.

and tolerable emotion for adolescents than anxious dependency cravings. Young people can more easily cultivate anger and find targets for it that allow more justifiable expressions of emotion.[61]

The fight-flight dynamic described by Bion and Rioch provides a useful outlet for the frustration and anxiety of the adolescent in relation to authority figures. The demands made by adults on young people often require an introspective probing of intensely sensitive and provocative issues. Fight-flight as a group or individual dynamic allows a youngster to evade these issues and to express inner anxiety through the displaced rage and frustration which can be enacted in fight-flight behaviors such as adolescent rebellion, running away, and stubbornness. What Bion would term the basic assumption life of many teen-age peer groups is based on the fight-flight dynamic.[62]

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[61] Lifton, p. 60.

[62] See Wilfred Bion, Experiences in Groups (New York, Basic Books, Inc. 1969), pp. 141-155; Margaret Rioch, "The Work of Wilfred Bion on Groups," Psychiatry 33 (1970) : 56-66.

Withdrawal and emotional desensitization are sometimes characteristic of the young person's behavior. The loss of boundaries, reference points, and security occurring when childhood is left behind, often result in an emotional paralysis. Particularly in early adolescence, the departure of important psychosocial boundaries and symbols of childhood are accompanied by the loss of channels through which an individual expresses personal events. Until new channels are developed, emotional withdrawal will guard against damaging intrusions by new, unknown, and confusing experiences.[63]

The aforementioned behavioral themes and styles of adolescence are often interpreted as negative and pathological. They are adaptive and often necessary concommitants of a young person's growth and must be seen as positive if the psychosocial functions and needs of this stage are to be understood.

Counter identity. Each culture attaches value judgments to

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[63]Cleve Pemberthy, "The Early Adolescent as Mourner: Early Adolescence as Bereavement" (Unpublished paper, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., 1975), p. 26.

the behavior of its members. Behavioral expressions may be viewed as negative, neutral, or positive by given cultures and judgments about a given behavior vary across and even within cultures. While adolescents experiment with behaviors judged as negative within their cultural context, few accept a configuration of such "negative" behaviors as a definition of self. Most young people can find expressions of identity and coalesce a sense of self that is helpful in ordering developmental conflicts and tensions and still stay within the limits of acceptability defined by their culture.

Erikson used the term negative identity to describe an identity choice and accompanying behavior that is valued negatively by a culture.[64] In place of negative identity, counter identity avoids the suggestion of pathology made by the word negative and implies no acceptance or rejection of the values and standards by which a culture judges individuals. Counter identity describes the identity life-style choice that is at variance with the expectations and expressed values of a culture.

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[64]Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 174.

The processes that apply to identity formation in general apply also to counter identity formation. The works of Alfred Adler and Rudolf Dreikurs provide a comprehensive analysis of how various life experiences - family, community, cultural, and peer - can interact to result in formation of a counter identity. They have developed a typology of four counter life styles - Attention-getting, Power, Revenge, and Worthlessness - that are the behavioral characteristics of a counter identity.[65] Their description of life style development is helpful in explaining the interaction of elements in the process.

Erikson's view of the factors involved in choice of counter-identity is:

> The choice of a (counter) identity is an attempt to regain mastery of a situation where the elements of a (mainstream) identity are not available... A (counter) identity may be an expression of individual conflicts or it may be the only way an individual can find a niche in a demanding and overwhelming social-psychological environment. It may be easier to derive a sense of identity out of total identification with that which one is not supposed to be than

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[65] See Dreikurs, pp. 43-45; Alfred Adler, Problems of Neurosis (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964).

> to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are unattainable by inner (or outer) means... Faced with continuing conflict, one would rather be a nobody or somebody totally bad or indeed dead--and this by free choice--than be not-quite-somebody.[66]

Erikson acknowledges the role of both internal conflicts and the availability of acceptable or mainstream "niches".

Because a young person exhibits behavior that is judged negatively by his culture does not mean that counter-identity formation is occurring. Deviant behavior in adolescence is not restricted to the youth in search of a counter identity. All adolescents are in search of and in the process of building an identity. Whether they are developmentally or culturally predisposed towards a mainstream or counter identity, they "try out" "counter cultural" behavior in the process of determining who they are, what fits them and what does not. When such behavior "fits" the psychosocial development of particular individuals, a counter identity formation is developing.

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[66]Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 176.

Psychosocial function of identity formation. In adolescence, young people are being asked to complete a great deal of developmental work. Each area of psychosocial growth must take on perspective and be integrated as an element of identity. How a young person sees himself/herself in terms of interpersonal competence, occupation, sexuality, values, and emotional expression must all be defined. The enormity of accomplishing these tasks coupled with Western culture's emphasis on control of adolescent behavior and prolonged dependence, make the developmental process often one of tension, anxiety, and difficutly. The developmentally functional aspect of identity formation is not just its outcome but its ability to provide a structure that can order much of the anxiety and chaos of adolescence. The search for identity gives youth the opportunity to try on one or more temporary selves which helps to structure the immediate pressures of the stage and make them more manageable.[67] Youth may cling fervently to an identity which puts some controls on adjustment difficulties and organizes extreme and contradictory

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[67] Pemberthy, p. 31.

feelings during a chaotic period. The transitory "self" in adolescence can give temporary resolution to the more difficult developmental tasks, facilitate individuation, and manage anxiety.

This organizing function of identity formation becomes particularly important in American culture which denies many "adult" identity elements to young people for longer periods than in less complex cultures. American adolescents must struggle with identity issues for many years and the structuring and tension managing function of the identity formation process is extremely important for a young person's ongoing development. When cultural controls on the formation of a provisional "adult" identity are lifted, the psychosocial need for transitory selves diminishes. Their anxiety reducing functions are assumed by more permanent and stable identity configurations.

It is important that the psychosocial function of the identity formation process be viewed as much as is possible from a culture free perspective. Whether a young person exhibits an identity, life style or behavior that is counter to or consistent with the values and expectations of the main-

stream culture, the developmental direction is the same: towards greater individuation and autonomy; towards increasing separation from parents and adults; and towards the development of new life-skills. This commonality in the psychosocial function of very different behaviors is demonstrated in the fact that comparative studies of need structures and other important personality variables among delinquent and non-delinquent groups, for instance, have failed to yield significant differences. We may see opposite extremes of behavior in two groups of young people but the needs and the identity formation process to which behavior is rooted are very often similar and the psychosocial function of that behavior is identical.[68] The fourteen year-old juvenile delinquent, the high school honor student, and the "punk rocker" exhibit behavior rooted to identities that are valued and judged very differently by the American cultural milieu. Each of these contemporary adolescent "types" is accomplishing the same identity formation process and

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[68]John Janeway Conger and Wilbur C. Miller, Personality, Social Class, and Delinquency (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 112.

this process has positive psychosocial value and utility regardless of how the culture judges or reinforces each individual's behavior and identity.

This conceptualization of identity formation and its psychosocial function leads into two areas. First, what elements influence the identity and behavioral choices of American young people and what limitations are there on the choices available? Second, how does the behavior and identity of the American adolescent delinquent give order and direction to the developmental process; organize and create channels for the expression of anxiety and tension associated with development; and facilitate completion of vital psychosocial tasks?

The next section, inquires first into those factors that affect the behavior choices of American young people.

Influences on Identity Formation and Choice

Culture. According to Wolfgang:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values;... Reference to culture should be restricted to transmitted and

> created content and patterns of value, ideas, and other symbolic meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior...[69]

In less formal terms, culture is the way people live, the rules they set for themselves, the general ideas around which they organize their lives, the things they feel are good or bad, right or wrong, pleasurable or painful.[70]

Previous sections of this paper have demonstrated the impact of culture on the roles, expectations, behavior and identities available to the American adolescent. The specific effect of general cultural influences on the adolescent identity formation processes is modified in degrees by subcultural influences.

Subculture. A subculture is:

> A division of the national culture composed of

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[69]The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency, "The Culture of Youth," by Marvin Wolfgang in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 145.

[70]Winifred S. Noel, "Counseling Blacks: Difficulties and Possible Methods for Success," (Unpublished paper, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., 1974), p. 19.

> a combination of favorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation but forming in their combination, a functional unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual. Sub-culture is a cultural pattern of sub-groups within a culture; reference groups within a culture for the interaction, for the sharing of values, and for the means of achieving status, recognition and response. A sub-culture, like a culture, is composed of values, conduct norms, social situations, role definitions and performances, sharing, transmission and learning of values.[71]

A sub-culture is only partly different from its parent culture. Cultures and sub-cultures share a significant amount of common values even though with regard to some issues, they may be in conflict or at wide variance. A counter culture is a sub-cultural group holding values and displaying behaviors that are antithetical to the dominant cultural system.[72]

There are a great variety of sub-cultures that are organized around age, family, class, racial-ethnic and other

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[71] The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 146.

[72] Ibid.

social characteristics. Sub-cultural influences interact in combination with mainstream cultural factors and individual developmental processes in extremely complex fashion to structure the identity and behavioral options available to adolescents. There is not sufficient space here to describe this complicated interaction but many sub-cultural characteristics can be identified.

Family. As the earliest sub-culture to which an individual belongs, the family has great influence on identity choice. Among factors in family sub-cultures linked with identity choices are the role of the father, and structural or relational characteristics. Family influences vary with changes in socio-economic levels and concepts of family vary across racial and ethnic sub-cultures. Characteristics of the family are very different in white, black and hispanic sub-cultures.[73]

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[73] See Beels, pp. 53-54; The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Family: A Review and Discussion," by Hyman Rodman and Paul Grams, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

In examining the influence of family sub-cultures on adolescent identity formation, it is important that we recognize influences having roots in other sub-cultures of which the family is a part such as racial-ethnic and class sub-cultures.

Socio-economic factors. Class membership has been found to influence the identity choice available to youth. For example, the roles, opportunities, and identities that are part of American culture, are differentially available to lower, middle, and upper socio-economic classes. A disproportionate percentage of lower class youth, have unequal access to educational facilities and, therefore, less access to developing skills and abilities on which many socially

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198; The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency, "The Function of Social Definitions in the Development of Delinquent Careers" by Carl Wertham in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 159; The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 147; George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Ywiger Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 349-357.

acceptable or mainstream identity choices are based.[74] Such youth must find sources of identity elsewhere.

Racial-ethnic influences. Racial and ethnic sub-cultures have distinct characteristics which influence the identity choices of their youthful members. Being black, for example, shapes personality, character structure, and emotional assets and liabilities as much as an individual's personal environment.[75] There is a unique black personality and identity that is the result of environmental and adverse mainstream cultural influences. The black adolescent, for example, must expend considerable energy to cushion the shock of learning what he/she is denied as a result of racial and cultural discrimination.[76]

Cultural influences and identity choice. The effect of cultural and sub-cultural factors on identity formation is to

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[74]The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wertham, p. 153.

[75]William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 48.

[76]Noel, p. 15.

both expand or contract the range of "acceptable" identity choices offered by the mainstream culture. The greater community may have a much narrower view of what is an acceptable life style than that of a lower class minority sub-culture.[77] A strict religious sub-culture may judge that many of the identity options within the "acceptable" range offered by the dominant culture are immoral and negative. It is also true that many of the most "acceptable" identity choices available to members of the dominant culture are not available to sub-cultures formed as a result of age, class, racial, and ethnic characteristics. In these cases, the vital function of sub-cultures is to allow its members to choose an identity or life style "acceptable" to that sub-culture. These individuals can then achieve identity, status, recognition, response, and a sense of normality and belonging that would otherwise be denied in the greater culture.[78] This principle is more clearly illustrated if we look at the function of

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[77] Lamar T. Empey and Steven G. Lubeck, Explaining Delinquency (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1971) p. 158.

[78] Ibid, p. 6.

peer cultures to which the American adolescent belongs. As discussed previously, American culture has prolonged childhood, over-controlled young people and denied life styles, roles, and identities which the young person would otherwise be ready to assume. Within the youth sub-culture, there are a great variety of identity choices an individaul can make. The youth culture has its own symbols, styles, artifacts, and values which allow a frustrated young person a sense of identity, and normality they cannot achieve in the culture of adults. The function of the youth sub-culture is consistent with the definition of sub-culture stated earlier.[79]

Cultural change. A major influence on identity formation in any culture is rapid social change. The effect of such change is to render old roles and life styles outmoded and ineffective and to eliminate once stable reference points.[80] Change requires the constant redefinition of self as roles and identities become outmoded or irrelevant. When once

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[79]The President's Commission, Task Force: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 145.

[80]Ibid, p. 146.

meaningful rites of passage become shallow and inappropriate, when available identity choices are not functional, new rites and identities must be improvised by youth from whatever contemporary materials are available, e.g. cars and drugs. The task of identity formation is as a result more difficult and less stable.[81]

Summary. The complex interaction of individual developmental processes and cultural/sub-cultural factors have major impact on the identity and behavior choices of adolescents.

When a counter identity has developed, it needs to be examined from the point of view of the individual developmental and cultural factors that have produced it. The next section will focus specifically on counter identity formation. The psychosocial function of delinquent counter identity will be examined and the specific developmental tasks affected will be identified.

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[81] See Beels, p. 52; Lifton, p. 61; The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 148.

Delinquent Counter Identity

In American culture, delinquent behavior is a readily available option for most American young people. The criminal lifestyle is displayed for children at an early age through the media. Delinquent behavior is often a carry over of behaviors developed in childhood, e.g. stealing. Such behavior can become repetitive and chronic for a young person predisposed towards a counter identity choice and can serve important psychosocial functions. This section will examine how delinquent counter identity can give order and direction to the developmental process and can serve in the young person's efforts to accomplish the tasks of adolescence.

Psychosocial functions of delinquent counter identity.

William Glasser's definition of responsibility is:

> The ability to fulfill one's needs in a way that does not deprive others of the ability to fill their needs.[82]

Certainly, the adolescent who chronically steals cars,

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[82]William Glasser, Reality Therapy: A New Approach to Psychiatry (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 13.

breaks into houses, or burglarizes stores, is irresponsible according to Glasser's definition and is likely to have assumed a counter identity. The psychosocial function of counter identity and its consequences help the adolescent to achieve mastery over the developmental tasks formulated by Havighurst.[83] Placing these expectations into four broad categories will facilitate this analysis.

I. Separation-Independence-Autonomy
   - A. From Parents and Adults
   - B. Economic
   - C. Emotional

II. Sexuality
   - A. Acceptance of physique
   - B. Masculine/Feminine roles
   - C. Channels for expression of sexuality and sex roles

III. Life Skill Development
   - A. Interpersonal and relationship
   - B. Vocational

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[83] Muuss, p. 109

C. Intellectual

IV. Moral Development

A. Values

B. Socially responsible behavior

A delinquent counter identity allows mastery of a number of the tasks in each category.

Separation, independence, autonomy. Adults in American society react in a formal and organized way to irresponsible behavior and in doing so support the separation and individuation of the young offender. Delinquent behavior is a rejection of community standards and creates antagonism and psychological distance between the adolescent and the community. Delinquent behavior serves to aid psychosocial development when rejection of the youth by the community creates a negative separation.[84]

To make a separation from parental figures, youth must develop a sense of themselves apart from and not dependent upon parents. A delinquent counter identity is a separate individuated self and while not necessarily a satisfying one,

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[84]Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 132.

allows the young person to "be" someonw other than a dependent child and to achieve mastery of sorts over the environment. If an adolescent can find no other sense of importance, then a delinquent counter identity will be maintained if only to keep the emotionally charged issue of dependence at a distance and to give a young person an alternate "being".[85]

Sexuality, life skills, moral development. Achievement in each of these areas takes place within a cultural or sub-cultural context often that of a peer sub-culture. For the delinquent youth we are discussing in this paper, there is a readily available deviant sub-culture which provides the context for achievement of developmental tasks.

A delinquent sub-culture provides companions of both sexes, carefully defined sex roles, and offers opportunities to explore channels for the expression of sexuality that are acceptable at least within the sub-culture. Life skills in areas of interpersonal relationships can be developed within the sub-cultural matrix and a varied range of interpersonal

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[85]Ibid, p. 176.

roles and relationships are available.[86]

Dysfunctional role of delinquent counter identity. Delinquent counter-identity proves to be dysfunctional for life skills development in vocational and intellectual areas. Socially responsible behavior is not learned through delinquency. Law breaking behavior tends to decrease a youth's accessibility to opportunities through which vocational, intellectual, and value skills are learned. Public school, which is the only setting a delinquent adolescent can learn the adult skills valued by the mainstream culture, is often the first casualty of a delinquent counter identity.[87]

Summary. The assumption of a delinquent counter identity allows an adolescent unable or unwilling to assume more mainstream identity choices, to meet some developmental needs and to master some of the tasks of adolescence within readily available sub-cultural contexts. Given this positive nature of delinquent counter identity formation, delin-

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[86]The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wertham, p. 159.

[87]Ibid, p. 166.

quency intervention must be concerned not only with interrupting and controlling behavior but also with providing for vital developmental needs within the young person. The problem of delinquency intervention is explored in the next section and is a useful context for summarizing and interrelating the foregoing contents of this chapter.

Summary: Delinquency Intervention

Despite its functional aspects, delinquent behavior rooted to counter identity formation brings youth into conflict with their community. "Irresponsible" behavior is detrimental to the growth of young people, to their environment, and to a more constructive outcome for adolescent development in general. The dysfunctional correlates of the delinquent counter identity formation process are justification for formalized intervention efforts. The goal of such efforts is to interrupt counter identity formation and to facilitate a less conflictual identity formation process.

Erikson, however, notes that in initiating intervention efforts:

> (A) community (which) recognizes a young person at a critical moment in adolescent de-

> velopment as one who arouses displeasure and discomfort, sometimes suggests that person change in ways that to him do not add up to anything identical to himself[88]

Challenges to identity or intervention into identity formation processes are resisted, can provoke angry fight-flight behavior, and result in further entrenchment of the behavior and identity choice being challenged.

To intervene successfully in delinquent behavior and counter identity formation, requires very deliberate and well thought out strategies. It is necessary to avoid eliciting resistive reactions and to provide the adolescent with a choice of new identity experiences, which continue to gratify developmental needs, and promote more concordant, less conflictual development.

Such strategies can be based on principles derived from the developmental and psychosocial issues presented in this chapter. Compiling the theoretical material discussed relative to separation-individuation, cultural and sub-cultural contexts, families, and other areas, several relevant delin-

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[88]Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 160

quency intervention principles can be formulated.

Separation-individuation. A number of issues discussed within the context of separation-individuation have relevance for delinquency intervention. We know separation-individuation is a process of physical, emotional and social separation from parental and adult figures and a progressive differentiation of self manifested in achievement of identity;[89] as with all growth processes, is characterized by gradual movement in small steps;[90] is accomplished through the achievement of various psychosocial tasks each of which is relevant for identity formation.[91] Therefore, a useful principle is that intervention efforts must mirror the separation-individuation process.

1. Intervention programs must be structured in progressive stages or steps through which youth can move gradually

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[89]Mahler, "On the First Three Subphases of the Separation-individuation Process," p. 333-338.

[90]Benedict, p. 475.

[91]See Muuss, p. 109; Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 129.

2. Movement through each step must represent an achievement of a psychosocial task and bring with it increased separation, autonomy, and independence from adult authority and control

3. The content of a delinquency intervention program and the expectations and tasks within each developmental step need to be the basis for positive identity formation experiences. Social and interpersonal growth opportunities, vocational-educational skills, moral and value reinforcing experiences, and sex role development should be accounted for in intervention program content

Boundaries. In previous sections, Lifton and others have illustrated the effects of rapid social change in making many traditional psychosocial boundaries ineffective. Notions about the family, the impact of religion, and other idea systems do not provide the same meaningful reference points they once did. Rituals and rites of passage can become shallow and inappropriate. Delinquent youth in particular often lose the few remaining symbols and rituals of adolescence: progressing through school, graduation, receiving a driver's license and others. Counter cultural symbols serve as boundaries for young offenders: "getting busted", "turning

on", and "doing time".[92]

Delinquency intervention programs must, therefore, provide clear and relevant boundaries which mark movement and growth through stages of development. Boundaries are important in providing youth with a clear sense of beginning and ending, joining and separating, and having passed through clearly defined and bounded stages along the way. Rituals designed around the positive content of contemporary youth cultures are an excellent means of marking boundaries.

Authority vs. responsibility. The reaction of adolescents to authoritarian control has been discussed by Erikson and others. Concepts such as fight-flight are essential in understanding the psychosocial basis for a young person's response to limits and controls. The resistance of a juvenile offender to attempts at external control of irresponsible behavior is often rooted to sensitive dependence/inde-

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[92]See Beels, p. 52; Lifton, p. 61; The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 148.

pendence, autonomy, and identity issues.[93] While the control of delinquent behavior can be justified,[94] it is antithetical to one of the goals of delinquency intervention. We are, according to Glasser, trying to teach youth to assume responsibility for control of their own behavior. Considering that the concepts of external control and individual responsibility are contradictory, the design of the authority/responsibility parameters of delinquency intervention programs is extremely important. A delicate balance between external controls and individual responsibility must be established. Both elements must be present in intervention effort.

1. Limits and controls: controls must be applied consistently with no punitive emphasis
2. Programmatic emphasis on the achievement of individual responsibility must be carefully structured

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[93] See Bion, p. 141-155; Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, pp. 130, 155, 160.

[94] Glasser, p. 69.

3. Mechanisms for shifting the responsibility for behavioral controls from external authoritarian sources to internal individual sources must be integrated into program operations

Sub-cultures. The sub-cultures to which adolescents belong have significant impact on their behavior and growth. Family, peer, racial, ethnic, and class sub-cultures are developmental contexts for young people. They are important sources of status, belonging, and normality, and expand or contract the range of acceptable behavior supported by the mainstream culture. Peer sub-cultures are very potent reinforcers of adolescent behavior and the context for much of the identity formation process.[95]

A program sub-culture must be carefully developed in order to be consistent with intervention goals.

1. The peer sub-culture in a delinquency program must be a source of belonging, normality, relationship and status.
2. The sub-culture should be structured around symbols and

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[95]See Empey and Lubeck, p. 158; The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 145.

content that reflect the age, sex, racial, class, and ethnic characteristics of its members.

3. The program peer sub-culture should have the capability to reinforce program values and to assume responsibility for the behavior of its membership.
4. External sub-cultures to which program youth belong should be impacted in interaction with the program sub-culture.

Family. Minuchin and others presented earlier, have emphasized the significant role of the family in adolescent development particularly its impact on the identity formation process. The families of delinquent youth are often disorganized or disrupted and are unable to provide the support and consistent controls so vital to young people during adolescence. Often many behavioral patterns established within the family lead to delinquent acting out. Once relevant and meaningful family roles have lost their effectiveness as behavioral models for youth. Family strengths are not devel-

oped and utilized.[96] Families must play a significant role in delinquency intervention.

1. The family must be involved in intervention program process.
2. Supports, relationships and other assets within the family must be developed.
3. Sensitive separation and other psychosocial issues associated with family must be resolved especially where a youth's return to the family is not possible.

Summary. Utilizing these principles in the development of delinquency intervention strategies incorporates important psychosocial issues of adolescent development into the treatment of juvenile delinquents. By accounting for developmental and socio-cultural issues such as separation-individuation, developmental boundaries, and sub-cultural and family influences, intervention programs can be more relevant to the adolescent stage.

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[96] See Beels, pp. 53-54; The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wolfgang, p. 147, Grams, p. 198; Simson and Ywiger, p. 349-357.

While psychosocial principles have great import, they are not the only foundations on which delinquency intervention should rest. The operation of the juvenile justice system in our society has a major impact on young offenders. In the following chapter, an analysis of the juvenile justice system will reveal a number of system based issues which are relevant to delinquency control and can be a basis for additional intervention strategies.

C H A P T E R I I I

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM: DERIVATION, ORGANIZATION AND IMPACT

Introduction

The juvenile justice system operates presumably for the prupose of intervening in and controlling delinquent behavior. The system represents the need of our culture to respond to a particular type of deviant behavior. It is the intent of this chapter to present a perspective on deviance; the rationale and function of a systematized response to deviant behavior for our society; a brief historical review of the juvenile justice system; an analysis of juvenile justice as a system; and its psychosocial impact on adolescents. Issues highlighted throughout this overview have relevance for the design of delinquency intervention programs, particularly in relation to adolescent psychosocial development. These issues will be examined and formulated as additional guidelines for delinquency intervention. A discussion on deviance is a starting point.

Deviance

Deviance is:

> behavior that varies sufficiently from the norms of a group that if known, it would become a defensible or legitimate basis for negative sanctions in informal social interaction or by official agencies of the society.[97]

This definition includes deviant behavior that is unknown and unidentified; excludes behavior that is incorrectly labeled; and accounts for the fact that deviance is not an inherent property of behavior but is a property attributed to behavior by the people or groups who hold and share the norms in question.[98] Whether a particular behavior or person is labeled as deviant depends on the complex interaction of a large number of factors including the socio-cultural characteristics of the group making the judgment and of the individual being judged. Differential judgments of deviance may be made of the same behavior by dif-

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[97] Wood, p. 6.

[98] Kai T. Erikson, "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," in The Other Side, ed. Howard S. Becker (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 11.

ferent groups. Judgments of deviant behavior can vary with the social status of the persons being judged.[99] In some cultures what would otherwise be seen as deviant behavior may be seen as normal for certain groups, or for certain seasons or days.[100]

There are a variety of theories of deviant behavior which there is not space to discuss here. Deviant behavior in general, however, does serve a function for all cultures and sub-cultures.

Deviance and boundary maintenance. To maintain stability, every culture must define and maintain boundaries as constant reference points for its members. Deviant behavior represents the most extreme variety of conduct to be found within the experience of a group and is often used for formally marking the boundaries. A culture may set up formal mechanisms for identifying and controlling deviant behavior which maintain boundaries within the culture. Every time

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[99] Wood, p. 6.

[100] Kai Erikson, p. 20.

agencies of social control confront some deviation, the authority of violated norms is asserted and the boundaries of the culture are preserved.[101] To an extent, deviance is necessary to maintain the stability and integrity of a culture.

Each culture defines deviant roles through which certain of its members will move. Our culture is organized in a way that a portion of the population usually from young adult, lower classes, and minority groups are often stabilized in deviant roles.[102] These roles are structured within criminal justice and mental health systems designed to treat or control criminal or insane persons. While there is increasing evidence that these systems are ineffective, their continued existence is based on their ability to at least preserve certain boundaries and reference points for society.[103]

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[101] Ibid, p. 13.

[102] Ibid, p. 19.

[103] Empey and Lubeck, p. 177.

Juvenile Justice: Historical Development

Juvenile delinquents are stabilized in deviant roles structured within the juvenile justice system. The development of this system in the United States can be traced to the founding of the Plymouth Bay Colony in 1620. English law adopted by early colonists held any individual over age seven subject to criminal statutes. Informally, youth under age fifteen were treated less severely than adults.[104]

Through the early 1800's, laws were made specific to juveniles and certain behaviors were defined as deviant only when exhibited by children, e.g. truancy, idleness, gambling, or running away. The legal statutes and the courts that enforced them, gradually took differential views of juvenile and adult behaviors.

Juvenile institutions. A major step in the formation of the juvenile justice system was taken in 1825 with the establishment of the first juvenile House of Refuge in New

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[104]Paul Lerman, "Delinquency and Social Policy: An Historical Perspective," Crime and Delinquency (October, 1977), p. 383.

York. This institution and others, which were developed in a number of states, marked clearly the justice system's movement towards the separate treatment of children.[105]

Through the late nineteenth century, as additional and often more specialized juvenile institutions were founded, legal statutes became formally organized into a body of law applying only to juveniles. These statutes included not only criminal offenses but also adaptations of English poor laws covering idleness, begging, vagrancy, destitution, and offenses peculiar to childhood: status offenses. There were no distinctions made between these three categories of offense in the way juveniles were treated. Criminal law and procedures were used to handle many noncriminal, child welfare related, and poverty linked situations.[106]

Juvenile courts. The urbanization and industrialization of American society in the nineteenth century had major influence on the development of the juvenile justice system. Houses of refuge, reform schools, juvenile statutes, and

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[105] Ibid, p. 384.

[106] Ibid, p. 385.

eventually juvenile courts came about partly because of the increased numbers of wayward children that accompanied the larger population concentrations in urban, industrialized areas. These children were from the families of poor, lower class, immigrant, and racial groups, as it was these families that were most vulnerable to the detrimental effects of urban social and economic change.

The establishment of components of the juvenile justice system was designed with all the benevolent intentions of the middle and upper classes to protect and save the endangered children of the "poor and deprived classes."[107] The premises upon which the system was built were conservative and middle class oriented. The behavior the system defined as deviant, and the deviant roles it created were based on lower class, disadvantaged and immigrant group behaviors.[108]

Juvenile justice system. Entering the twentieth century, the United States juvenile justice system completed the development of formal legal and correctional institutions--ju-

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[107] Fisher, p. 2.

[108] Empey and Lubeck, p. 156.

venile courts and reform schools--reserved only for juveniles. The system had the responsibility for a broad range of deviant behavior including criminal, and status offenses and, in many cases, abandoned, neglected and deprived children. Again, there was no distinction made by the juvenile justice system in its dealings with these different categories of juvenile behavior.

Through the mid twentieth century, most jurisdictions had three separate and reasonably well-developed juvenile justice components: police departments established separate bureaus for processing juvenile offenders; juvenile court or special juvenile court sessions; and correctional or youth service agencies having networks of institutional and other services.

Massachusetts juvenile justice. Prior to 1969, Massachusetts had a traditional juvenile justice system. Police and courts had specialized procedures and sessions for juveniles although there was only one exclusively juvenile court in the State. This Division of Youth Services (DYS) consisted of a centralized administration governing five youth institutions into which youth were placed ac-

cording to their age, sex, severity of offense, or adjustment difficulties. Various parole, aftercare, and limited prevention services were provided as an adjunct to institutional services. Figure 1 is an organizational chart of the Massachusetts youth service agency in 1968.

Following a series of institutional scandals in 1969, DYS was reorganized and a new commissioner was hired. A period of radical changes was initiated which are to this date being implemented. The most consequential change was the closing down of all five youth institutions and the development of a network of community services. Complete descriptions of these closings can be found in Bakal and Miller, Ohlin, and Coates.[109] Figure 2 shows the present organization and services of DYS from a recent annual report.

There were two other major changes in the Massachusetts

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[109]See Yitchak Bakal, Closing Correctional Institutions (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1973); Alden D. Miller, Lloyd Ohlin, and Robert Coates, A Theoretical Synthesis for Promoting Change in Human Service Systems, (Cambridge: Center for Criminal Justice, Harvard Law School, 1974); Idem, Logical Analysis of the Process of Change in Human Services: A Simulation of Youth Correctional Reforms in Massachusetts (Cambridge: Center for Criminal Justice, Harvard Law School, 1975).

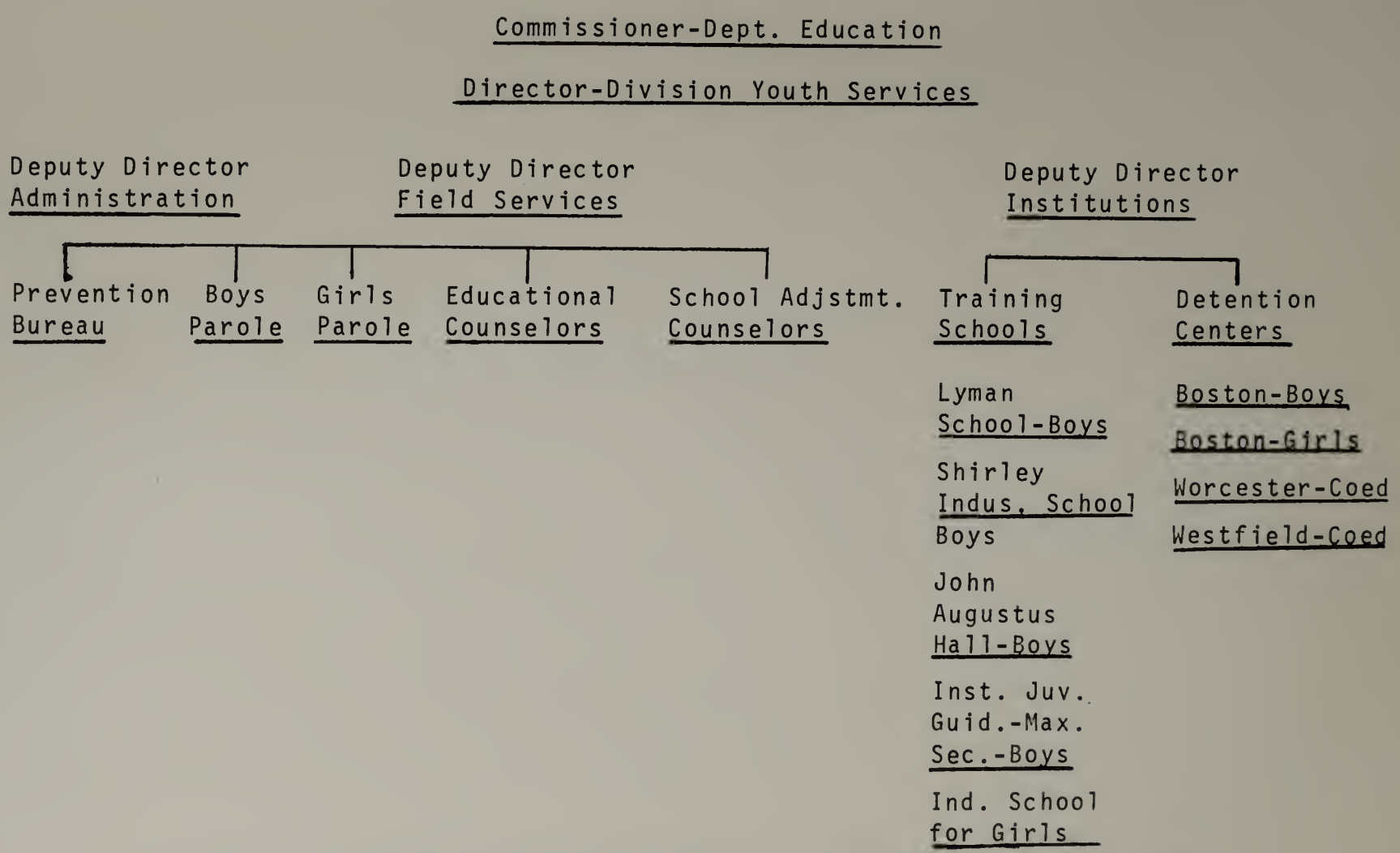

Figure 1. Division of Youth Services - Organizational Chart, 1968

Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Division of Youth Services, Personnel Manual, 1968.

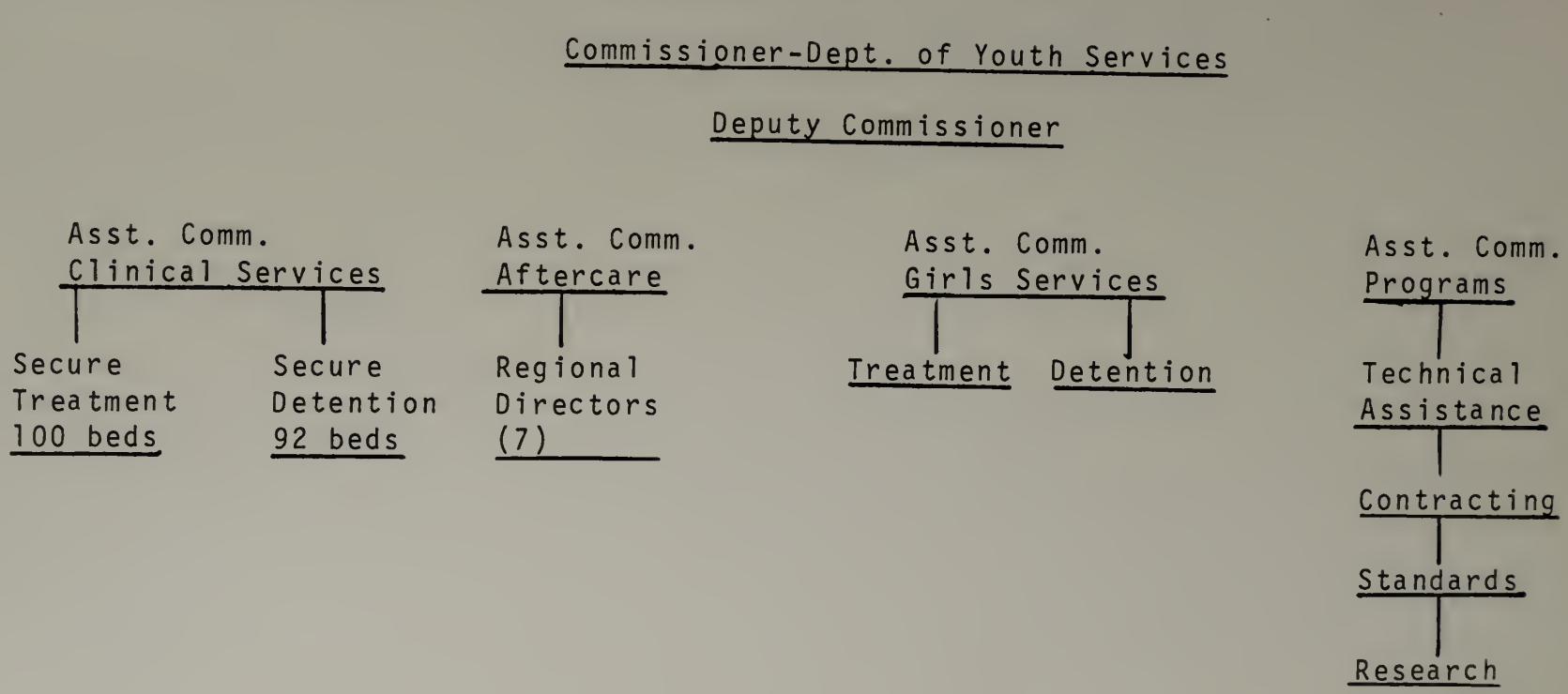

Figure 2. Department of Youth Services - Organizational Chart, 1979

Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Annual Report, 1978 by John A. Calhoun, Commissioner (Boston: Alfred C. Holland, State Purchasing Agent, 1978), p.

juvenile justice system between 1969 and 1978. Two new juvenile courts were established in central and Western Massachusetts and a network of probation and other community services developed around each of these new courts as a result of LEAA funding for community services. The other major change was the enactment in 1973 of Child in Need of Service (CHINS) legislation which decriminalized status offenses. Youth involved in truancy, runaway, and stubbornness offenses went through modified procedures in juvenile court but could no longer be committed to DYS or be placed with delinquent offenders.

Summary. Deviant behavior and the complexity of factors that contribute to its development, serve a definite function in any culture. The interaction between deviants and the agencies set up to control deviant behavior help to maintain the boundaries, reference points and integrity of a culture. As a result of this boundary maintenance function, individuals in the culture have a better sense of what the limits are on the tolerance of the culture, its values and standards.

The juvenile justice system in the United States is the system for responding to a variety of deviant juvenile be-

haviors. The tendency of American juvenile justice to draw on the children of the poor reflects the detrimental effects of nineteenth century urban industrialization on lower class and minority families and the predominance of conservative and middle class standards in defining what is and is not deviant.

American juvenile justice has developed into three distinct components which deal with a wide range of behaviors. Massachusetts' system represents an advanced development away from the institutional models of the nineteenth century and a return to more community oriented services.

In the next section, the operating activities of each component of the juvenile justice system will be analyzed to identify the psychosocial impact of the system on youth. From this analysis additional considerations having implications for delinquency intervention program design will be abstracted.

Organizational Components

The juvenile justice system exists for the purpose of:

1. Identifying, intervening in, and controlling delinquent behavior.

2. Changing the behavior of juvenile offenders, i.e. reducing delinquent behavior.[110]

Our society has designed a variety of activities and processes to accomplish these objectives. From a systems perspective, these juvenile justice activities can be described as an import-conversion-export process. Miller and Rice characterize an open system as ". . ." importing materials, transforming them by means of a conversion process . . . and exporting. . ." (products).[111] Putting juvenile justice processes into these terms, we can say that juvenile justice:

1. Imports its raw materials from the community in the form of alleged offenders
2. As a further import process, the guilt of the offender is determined and what conversion activities the individual will be subject to is decided

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[110] Empey and Lubeck, p. 171

[111] E. J. Miller and A. K. Rice, Systems of Organization (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), p. 3.

3. Conversion activities are administered in the form of probationary supervision or correctional treatment
4. Youth pass through an export process once conversion processes are completed

With this view of juvenile justice as an import conversion-export system, each system component can be analyzed with regard to its formal or legally defined functions in the import-conversion-export process as well as with regard to its more informal functions.

Juvenile justice constituent systems will be comparatively examined here first by defining the primary tasks of each component. Primary tasks are those tasks that must be performed if the system is to survive.[112] Such tasks determine to a large extent what the operating activities of the system are. The managing system for each juvenile justice component will be identified, any constraints on operating activities will be discussed, and interaction with other constituent systems will be described.[113]

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[112] Ibid, p. 25.

[113] Ibid, pp. 25-37.

Figure 3 is a schematic diagram showing the general position of police, court, and youth service activities in the import-conversion-export process. Tables 1 through 4 show the detailed operating activities of each component.

This analysis will reveal some of the organizational characteristics of the juvenile justice system. The psychosocial impact of juvenile justice on individual youth can be then more clearly demonstrated.

Police. Formal, legal definitions allow police only an import function in the juvenile justice import-export-conversion process. The primary task of the police is to identify alleged juvenile offenders and transfer such individuals to the juvenile court for further import activities. The operating activities necessary to carry out this task are shown on Table 1 and begin with tasks such as monitoring the community for potential law violations.

Police departments are managed by municipalities or states which provide operating resources and define the priorities and activities of each department. Direct management responsibilities are given to a chief of police. The procedures and policies which police must follow in

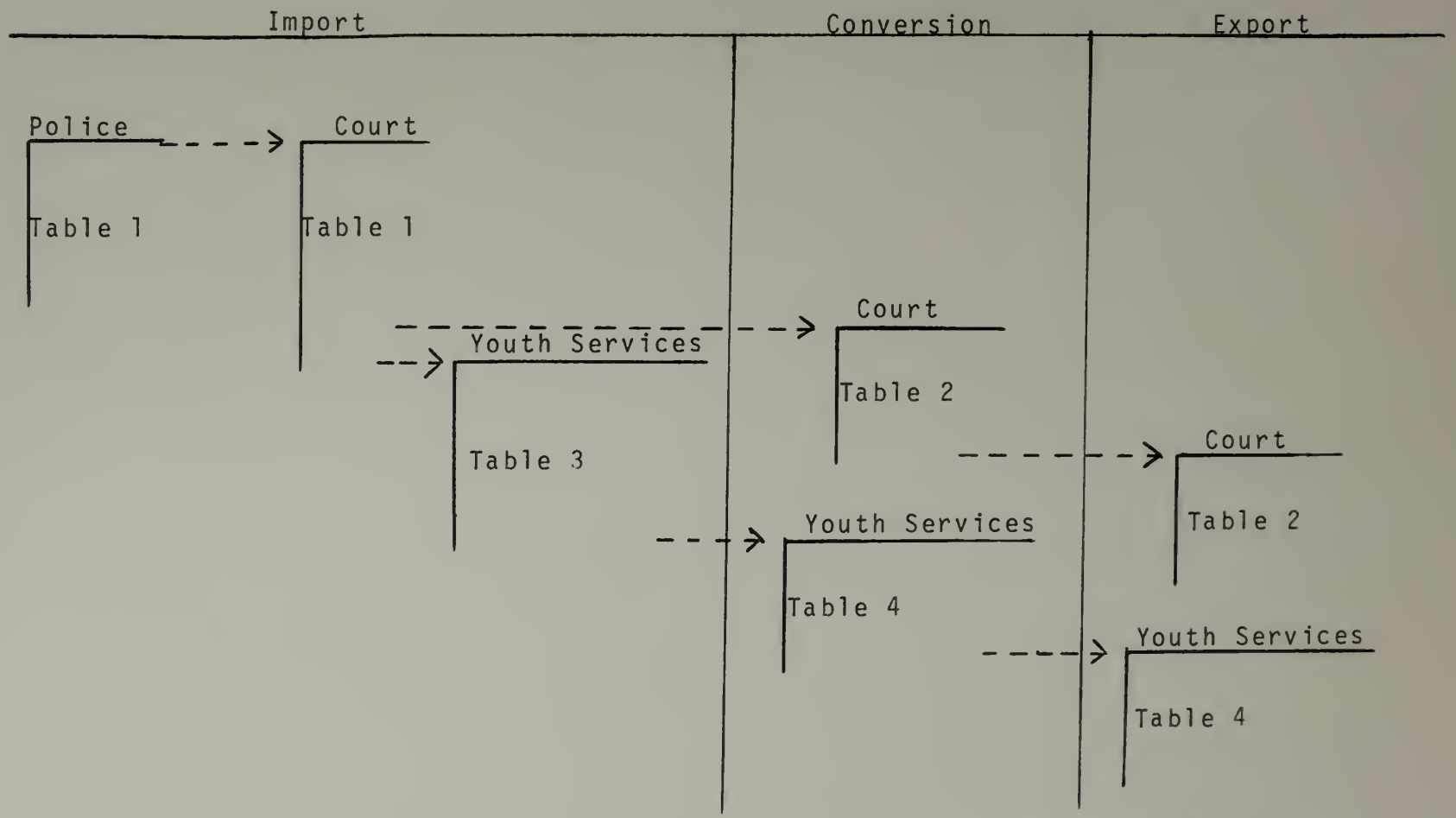

Figure 3. Juvenile Justice System: Police, Court, and Youth Service Roles in Import, Conversion, Export Process

TABLE 1

Juvenile Justice System: Police-Court, Import Activities

Police	Juvenile Court
1.1 Monitor community	
1.2 Investigate law violations	
1.3 Arrest offenders	
1.4 Notify Probation Officer	1.4 Probation Officer - release to parent/detain
1.5 Detain juvenile if Probation Officer consents	
1.6 Seek complaint from Court Clerk	1.6 Court Clerk - issue complaint/deny complaint
1.7 Transport juvenile to arraignment if detained	
1.8 Attend arraignment	1.8 Arraign juvenile - notification of charges, plea entered, attorney appointed
1.9 Recommend detention/release	1.9 Release/Detain pending hearing
1.10 Attend hearing, give testimony	1.10 Hearing-Transport from detention, plea, prosecution, defense, judgment Outcome:
	a. Dismiss charges (not guilty) -

TABLE 1-Continued

1.10 (d1) Recommend detention/ release	1.10 (a1) exit system b. Continuance without finding - with or without informal probation c. File charges d. Adjudicate delinquent (not guilty 1. Continuance pending disposition (sentence). Detain/ Release 2. Make disposition
1.11 Recommend disposition	1.11 Disposition hearing-Transport from detention, Probation Officer, Prosecution, defense, recommend disposition. Outcome: a. Place on probation (See Table 2, (2.1) b. Commit to custody of youth services (See Table 3, 3.1)

Source: John McGonigle and Mary Gallagher, "Arrest and Pre-Trial Detention of Juveniles in Massachusetts," in Juvenile Law Practice, ed. Massachusetts Continuing Legal Education (Boston: New England Law Institute, 1977), p. 53-54; Elizabeth Cremens and Joseph McDonough, "Juvenile Court Hearings" in Juvenile Law Practice, ed. Massachusetts Continuing Legal Education (Boston: New England Law Institute, 1977), p. 70-78.

completing their primary tasks are defined by law and are often modified by decision of a court. The interests of municipal managing systems and the law are not always consistent. The law may require more in the way of resources than a municipality can afford or wish to provide.

Major internal constraints on police activities revolve around the resources it has available. A police force with insufficient manpower or physical resources, e.g., vehicles, cannot adequately monitor a large city. The major external constraint on police activities is the legal system which limits and defines each police activity and how it should or should not operate. For instance, in Massachusetts, police must have a legally defined probable cause to arrest a juvenile on a felony offense.[114] Other police activities are similarly circumscribed by law.

Significant interaction between police and other juvenile justice sub-systems is limited to juvenile court. Table 1 shows the interface between police and court in the import process. Police interact very little with youth

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[114]Fisher, p. 35.

services. They make contact to exchange information, to report escapees, and to pick up escapees, but there is not the close association or interaction between these operating systems that there is between police and courts.

Police-informal system functions. The formal definitions of task and operating activities limit police to an import function in the juvenile justice system. At a more informal level, police do assume conversion and export functions if only to a limited extent.

Not all of the juveniles arrested by police are passed on to courts for further import activities. Police assume responsibility for the informal conversion and export of some youth, whom they determine according to various criteria, do not need the formal treatment of the juvenile justice system. A number of factors influence police decisions on whether juvenile lawbreakers should receive further processing. Empey and Lubeck have noted that the organization and location of a police department, the demeanor of the youth, the type of crime, and the personal attributes of police and juveniles, can influence

police decisions.[115] Wertham adds age of youth, degree of parental control, and number of previous contacts as factors in police decisions to define youth as delinquent.[116] All of these factors mitigate against the police's completion of their formally defined primary task; result in some youth being informally "adjudicated" as less delinquent than others; and conclude with these youngsters being processed through unofficial conversion and export activities provided by police.

While this informal handling of some juveniles allows many youth to be diverted from a formal labeling process and to avoid many of the detrimental effects of the juvenile justice system, it also allows for many potential abuses in that youth may be screened into the system as a result of cultural, class, racial and ethnic characteristics which may define them in police eyes as more delinquent.[117]

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[115] Empey and Lubeck, pp. 172-173.

[116] The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wertham, p. 167.

[117] Ibid.

Courts. All youth for whom juvenile court complaints are sought by police, are processed through import activities by the juvenile court.

Some of these youth are screened out from further involvement, some are subjected to conversion and export activities by the court, and others are passed on to youth services for conversion and export. The juvenile court then serves an import function for all youth in its jurisdiction and conversion and export functions for certain of those youth.

The juvenile court is an important component in the juvenile justice system as it is the crucial point where the formal definitions of delinquency are made and eligibility for conversion and export is determined.

The primary tasks of the juvenile court are to determine the legal delinquency of juveniles; to administer treatment, punishment or other conversion activities; and to terminate a juvenile from the juvenile justice system upon completion of the conversion process.

The operating activities of the court are shown in Table 1 and Table 2. The import operating activities consist of a number of steps resulting in several court hear-

TABLE 2

Juvenile Justice System: Court Conversion, Export Activities

Conversion	Export
2.1 Probation period conditions set/service planning	
2.2 Behavior monitored	
2.3 Counsel, advise, dictate to juvenile	
2.4 Refer for other services	
2.5 Advocate with community, school, employers, agencies	
2.6 Violate probation (See Table 1, 1.3)	
a. new offense b. non compliance with conditions	
2.7 Complete probation period----------	2.7 Hold probation, discharge hearing
	2.8 Probation Officer report
	2.9 Discharge probation/continue probation (if discharge, juvenile exits system

Source: Massachusetts Continuing Legal Education, pp. 70-78.

ings which determine whether or not a youth is legally delinquent and should go through the conversion and export phases of the system. In Massachusetts, the determination of delinquency can be delayed for significant periods and then dropped altogether without a youngster having to go further in the system. The conversion activities of the court take place during a probation period, and export activities are the final ceremonious court hearings which remove a youngster from the system.

Recently, Massachusetts enacted legislation which established a central state judicial managing system governing the structure and operation of the court system. The body of laws enacted by the legislature and the decisions of higher courts determine the procedures and policy of each court and its proceeding. There is also an internal managing system of chief justices at each court level which sets rules and procedures for each court according to the law. The legal power possessed by court justices adds another dimension to the management structure of each juvenile court. Within broad legal limits each judge has considerable latitude in administering justice to juveniles and each court is a separate and powerful organization. Person-

alities of individual judges, geographical characteristics, and community attitudes, all affect a court's treatment of juveniles. It is not unusual to find considerable disparity in the treatment applied to similar instances of delinquent behavior by different courts.[118]

Courts have their closest links with police but have little formal relationship with youth services. Youth services provides pre-trial detention services to youth awaiting court appearances and there is negotiation around youth entering detention status but little contact with regard to the process of youth passing through either system. Courts transmit youth and relevant information onto youth services.[119]

A major constraint on court activities is derived from the contradictory definitions of its tasks. The goals of the juvenile court are expressed in humanitarian

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[118] Empey and Lubeck, p. 176.

[119] John McGonigle and Mary Gallagher "Arrest and Pretrial Detention of Juveniles in Massachusetts" in Juvenile Law Practice, ed. Massachusetts Continuing Education (Boston: New England Law Institute, 1977), p. 50.

terms, e.g. "to strengthen and encourage family life,... to provide substitute care for children."[120] Emphasis is placed on the employment of scientific, legal, and humanistic resources to discover and treat personal ills.[121] Despite this avowed "treatment orientation", juvenile courts must contend with a strong cultural tradition that punishment is a useful goal in dealing with wrongdoers. Courts must somehow incorporate both treatment and punishment goals into their operating activities and attempt to satisfy the demands of humanitarians and of those groups demanding punishment. Each approach may be used at different times with young people. Performing such contradictory functions mitigates against satisfactory attainment of either treatment or punishment goals.[122]

It should be noted, that juvenile court decisions can be subject to informal considerations similar to those which

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[120] Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 119, Sec. 1, 2, 53.

[121] Empey and Lubeck, p. 176.

[122] Ibid, p. 120.

influence police decisions. The ability of juvenile courts to delay reaching a finding on cases can be based on a view of a particular juvenile as less delinquent according to criteria such as demeanor, type of offense, parental control. Such youth may be given the opportunity to prove themselves for a period of time and avoid formal definitions of delinquency although they may also be subject to informal probationary supervision.[123]

Youth services. Youth services fulfills import, conversion, and export functions. Youth who are admitted to youth services care have been declared legally delinquent. It is not a concern of youth services import process to determine delinquency. The import function of youth services is to assess each youth sent to its care and determines what conversion process a juvenile should enter.

The primary tasks of youth services in Massachusetts are defined most explicitly also utilizing humanitarian

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[123]Howard A. Davidson and Patricia McGovern, "Dispositions in Juvenile Cases," in Juvenile Law Practice, ed. Massachusetts Continuing Legal Education (Boston: New England Law Institute, 1977), p. 100.

terms:

1. To provide diagnosis, treatment, instruction and training

2. To restore and build up the self-respect and self-reliance of children and to qualify them for good citizenship and honorable employment

3. To correct the socially harmful tendencies of children

4. To carry out a rehabilitative program which will meet the moral, physical, emotional, intellectual, and social needs of children as those needs would be met in adequate homes

5. To place each child referred or committed under an appropriate form of care and to develop and implement for each child an effective individualized treatment program[124]

Table 3 indicates the operating activities necessary for DYS to carry out its import-conversion-export responsibilities. Import activities consists primarily of intake, assessment, and planning activities.

Table 4 lists the youth services conversion-export functions. Conversion activities are carried out in a variety of residential and non-residential settings and consists of various counseling, treatment, therapy, educational

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[124]Ibid, p. 88.

TABLE 3

Juvenile Justice System: Youth Services Import Activities

Import
3.1 Receive and detain youth
3.2 Assign caseworker
3.3 Collect and assess social, psychological, educational and court data
3.4 Design service plan,
a. Identify specific service
b. Refer for services
c. Inform juvenile
d. Transport for pre-placement interview and return to detention
e. Accept/reject juvenile for services
f. Transport to service site (See Table 4, 4.1)

Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Annual Report, 1977 by John A. Calhoun, Commissioner (Boston, Alfred C. Holland, State Purchasing Agent, 1978), p. 94.

TABLE 4

Juvenile Justice System: Youth Services Conversion-Export Activities

Conversion	Export
4.1 Receive Services a. Non-residential 1. Counseling-therapy 2. Family therapy 3. Alternative school 4. Vocational training 5. Streetwork-tracking b. Residential 1. Foster care 2. Group home 3. Residential treatment 4. Psychiatric hospitalization 5. Secure treatment	
4.2 Service Plan completed----------	4.2 Receive aftercare services

TABLE 4-Continued

4.3 Service interrupted by: a. runaway b. removed from services c. request removal from services d. new arrest-return to Table 1, 1.4. return to Table 3, 3.1	a. Continued non-residential services b. Community supervision by caseworker
	4.5 Aftercare service plan completed
	4.6 Discharge from Youth Services (exit system)
4.7 Reach 17th birthday-Discharged from youth services----------	----------(exit system)

Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Annual Report, 1977 by John A. Calhoun (Boston: Alfred C. Holland, Purchasing Agent, 1978) p. 40.

and training activities. Export activities take place during a period of aftercare and consist of a variety of counseling and treatment activities.

Managing system. The youth service managing system is far less diffuse than other juvenile justice component managing system. It is part of the executive branch of state government and has much clearer organizational structure than the court and much more direct lines to the supplier of its resources. The youth services system manager is responsible only for youth services and has administrative control over all its operations. Procedures and policies are proscribed by law as with other state services. There is far more flexibility and less legal constraint than with other juvenile justice components.

Youth services has the least interaction with other juvenile justice constituent systems. Courts and police pass youth and data on youth onto DYS and retain no jurisdiction. There is negotiation and communication with courts concerning pre-trial detention of youth, and participation of court personnel at planning sessions but no significant interaction around conversion activities.

Operating constraints. Constraints on youth service operating activities are also resource constraints. Financial resources for youth services are controlled by the state legislature and are very much affected by the mood of the citizenry and their representatives.

Another constraint results from contradictory definitions of youth services primary task. Youth services must also contend with the cultural tradition that punishment of lawbreakers is a valid goal. Many juveniles are admitted to youth services care with a strong public expectation of punishment. In Massachusetts, which has a non-punitive treatment approach, these expectations are frustrated. Attempts by the legislature to limit resources is often the reaction to this frustration. To protect its resources, youth services must respond with a display of its security and control measures.[125] While such displays may pacify irate citizenry and legislators, they also reinforce the

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[125]Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Task Force on Secure Settings, The Issue of Security in a Community-Based System of Juvenile Corrections (Boston: Alfred C. Holland, State Purchasing Agent, 1977), p. 1.

tradition of punitive treatment and increase expectations of its availability. The necessity to somehow incorporate both punitive and humanitarian treatment modalities into its operations is contradictory and an obstacle to youth service carrying out its primary goals.

Another constraint on youth service operations is its inability to control its imports. Juveniles committed to youth services for reasons not related to the degree of delinquency, e.g., lack of community resources, family inadequacies, court idiosyncracies, cannot be turned back to their communities. For these youngsters, youth services must consume resources that would be better utilized for more delinquent young people. The accomplishment of the primary task for more needy youth is then more difficult.

Organizational Analysis

From the foregoing description of the juvenile justice sub-systems, three observations are obvious.

Conflicting primary tasks. First, the juvenile justice system is a loose association of three sub-systems each with separate defined primary tasks. While these tasks are

similarly defined in enlightened humanitarian terms as "treating", "guiding", and "training" delinquent children, they are very strongly influenced by informal, covert traditions emphasizing punitive measures as the appropriate corrective action for juvenile delinquents. The subtle punitive emphasis involved in apprehending, adjudicating, and treating young offenders is embodied within informal structures in each sub-system. These structures have defined primary tasks which can be in contradiction to and mitigate against completion of each system's formally defined primary tasks.[126]

Different managing systems. Second, each constituent system of juvenile justice has its own separate managing system with only limited interaction and communication taking place between managing systems. The existence of these three separate managing systems has resulted in juvenile justice

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[126]Empey and Lubeck, p. 126.

being referred to as a "non-system."[127]

Law enforcement, courts, and corrections often operate "haphazardly with little knowledge of what other segments are doing."[128] With separate managing systems, it is possible for each component to have conflicting primary tasks and methods.[129] Each sub-system may erroneously attack definitions of its own primary task to other sub-systems and communicate these definitions to youth in the system.

Labelling. Third, a function of all three juvenile justice components is in some way to label juveniles as deviant and to define deviant roles for such juveniles. Such labelling is done most formally in the court but occurs more as well in police and youth service systems. Police decide which

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[127] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, "The Non System of Criminal Justice" by Daniel J. Freed in Law and Order Reconsidered: A Staff Report eds. James J. Campbell, Joseph R. Sahid, and Daniel P. Stang (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Court Printing Office, 1969) p. 265.

[128] Martin L. Forst, "To What Extent Should the Criminal Justice System Be a System," Crime and Delinquency (October, 1977), p. 403.

[129] Empey and Lubeck, p. 171.

youth get processed through the system and in doing so make formal and informal definitions of deviance. Courts have formalized and ceremonious procedures which label youth. Youth services makes many decisions about the degree of security, or treatment a youth requires. While the system defines itself as having benign treatment oriented goals, it must label the juvenile offender in order to reach its goals.

Psychosocial impact. These three system characteristics have considerable psychosocial impact on youth who are involved in the juvenile justice system.

Diffusion of Authority. The existence of three disparate management systems, the uncoordinated activities, conflicting primary tasks, and the contradictory formal and informal messages given across and within sub-systems, results in the authority of the system being diffused. Youth are exposed to inconsistent attitudes, authority, and expectations; conflicting messages from different sub-systems; and overall uncoordinated and unpredictable operations.[130]

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[130] Ibid.

Imagine the effect of such inconsistency and conflict on adolescent youth who are already reacting to their own set of internal and external changes. They are very suddenly thrust into environments that mirror their own behavior and conflicts and are given the expectation of coping constructively with the experience. This exposure aggravates and incites acting out. A young person struggling with issues of autonomy and dependence/independence will react negatively to the diffusion of authority that is apparent across and within the different components of the juvenile justice system. Expectations of punishment, of non-punishment, of harsh or humane treatment are often not met. Youth are able to manipulate the inconsistency of the system in ways that diminish accountability and responsibility for their behavior.

Inconsistent authority and controls feed into the needs of rebellious adolescents who are enmeshed in fight-flight behavior patterns to achieve separation from adult authority. When attempts to control negative behavior are consistent and focused, youth may still rebel but there is at least the opportunity for them to be confronted and

held accountable.

Effect of labelling. The informal and formal labelling and definition of deviant roles that takes place in the juvenile justice system has negative psychosocial implications. Labelling at all levels of the system tends to reinforce counter-identity formation.[131] Formally defining an adolescent as a delinquent separates them from the general population and counter identity behavior patterns may be reinforced because they meet needs for independence and autonomy.[132] When these needs are met so distinctly, delinquent behavior is reinforced as a customary means for meeting developmental needs.

In addition, the formal labelling of a youth as delinquent is often a credential for admission into delinquent sub-cultures which further reinforces counter identity structures by providing a sense of normality, belonging,

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[131] The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wertham, p. 168.

[132] Ibid, p. 169.

status, and increasing separation from family and adults.[133]

The persistent relabelling of youth as "delinquent" which accompanies their penetration into the juvenile justice system, further reinforces counter-identity. A youngster encounters increasingly negative sanctions and restrictions and, therefore, has more opportunities for negative behavior.[134] There are a few opportunities for non-deviant behavior and no well marked pathways out of the system. Youth become stabilized in deviant roles.[135]

Outcome. It is not surprising that the juvenile justice system reports recidivism statistics in the sixty to eighty percent range.[136] If youth in that range have even a marginal committment to a counter identity, there is strong likelihood that "the system" will reinforce and consolidate

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[133] Empey and Lubeck, p. 180.

[134] The President's Commission, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Wertham, p. 168.

[135] Empey and Lubeck, p. 180.

[136] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Youth Services, Annual Report, 1977, p. 10.

counter identity elements. As a result of the incoordination and inconsistency between and within juvenile justice sub-systems, youth cannot be held responsible and accountable for their behavior. Counter-identities based on increasingly reinforced delinquent behavior are adopted with increasing conviction. Formal and informal labelling by the system assists an adolescent in finding ways to meet the psychosocial needs of adolescence through delinquent behavior. Only those youth whose involvement in the system is circumstantial and not related to counter identity formation can make a judgment that their delinquent experiences are "not me" and move on through their adolescent development.

Systemic Considerations in Delinquency Interventions

Delinquency intervention services based on the theoretical considerations presented in the previous chapter can be delivered. Programs which focus on problems related to individual psychosocial, family and cultural factors are in existence. The impact of juvenile justice's own organizational structure and operation on young people must also be

accounted for in intervention programs. The organizational analysis in the previous section demonstrates the psychosocial impact of juvenile justices' diffuse management and lack of coordination. In order for delinquency programs to be effective they must account for these systemic factors and considerations or their individual and socio-cultural interventions will be neutralized.

The following principles derived from a system analysis of the juvenile justice system can guide system-based strategies for delinquency intervention programs.

Coordination and consistency. Delinquency intervention programs must be organized and operated in a way that minimizes the effects of authority diffusion and uncoordination that occurs within the system.

1. Strong coordination links must be maintained between delinquency program management and the management of other juvenile justice sub-systems that the program interacts with
2. Operational procedures must stress open lines of communication and coordination between program operational staff and other juvenile justice staff they work with

3. Operational efforts should be directed to achieving consistency in the authority, limits, and controls that are placed on all youth by the different components of the system
4. Intervention programs must have the resources to allow staff to lobby and advocate effectively with system components in order to achieve uniform agreement on the treatment or service plans designed for each youth
5. Intervention programs must be able to neutralize the contradictory messages communicated by informal and covert structures within the juvenile justice system

The effect of utilizing these guidelines in the design of intervention program would be to make the treatment a youth receives more consistent.

Counteracting labelling effects. A second set of guidelines concerns the need for programs to minimize the effects of the juvenile justice system's labelling of young offenders.

1. Programs must provide many opportunities for positive identity formation experiences in personal, social, work, educational, and family areas
2. Just as entry into the juvenile justice system is marked

by the formal crossing of distinct boundaries, delinquency intervention programs should define clear boundaries out of the system and mark boundary crossings formally and ritualistically

3. Delinquency intervention programs as much as is realistically possible need to emphasize the interaction of youth with the community and experiences which reduce the stigmatization usually accompanying entry into the system

Delinquency Intervention Principles

The foregoing analysis of the juvenile justice system and the discussion of adolescent psychosocial development in Chapter II have been presented for the purpose of identifying those factors which have psychosocial impact on delinquent youth. With a knowledge of these factors, intervention programs can be designed to account for the broad range of probable causative elements in juvenile delinquency. The following outline represents a synthesis of the principles derived from both the analysis of adolescent psychosocial development and the organization and operation of the

juvenile justice system. Each item on this outline has been discussed fully in previous material and is stated briefly in the outline.

I. Separation-Individuation

A. Progressive stages

B. Movement through stages accompanied by increased separation and independence from adult controls and authority

C. Program content provides positive identity formation experiences

1. Interpersonal/social

2. Educational/vocational

3. Moral and value reinforcement

II. Boundaries

A. Clarity and firm demarcation of boundaries to serve as effective reference points

B. Boundaries mark positive movement in, through and out of program

C. Boundary crossings reinforce positive non-deviant behavior and roles

III. External Authority and Individual Responsibility

A. Methods for setting and maintaining limits and controls

B. Methods for assumption of behavioral responsibility by youth

C. Achievement of shift from external controls to individual responsibility

D. Communication, coordination and advocacy with other components of juvenile justice for purpose of maintaining consistent expectations and behavioral accountability of youth

E. Neutralization of covert messages communicated by informal systems

IV. Sub-cultures

A. Program sub-culture as source of belonging normality, relationship and status

B. Sub-culture symbols, staff, and content reflects characteristics of members, e.g. age, sex, class, racial ethnic

C. Sub-culture has responsibility for reinforcing program values, behavioral controls, accountabil-

ity of its members

D. Program has ability to impact sub-cultures external to it, e.g. peer culture, family sub-culture

V. Family

A. Involvement of family in program process

B. Strengthening of supports, relationships and other assets within family

C. Resolution of separation issues and other family issues blocking psycho-social development

VI. Community Interaction

A. Interaction with community

B. Emphasis on normalization experiences to offset deviant labels

These six general areas of delinquency intervention have many implications for delinquency programs when used in designing or evaluating both residential and non-residential models as will be demonstrated in succeeding chapters.

Summary

This chapter has focused on the juvenile justice system,

its history, development, organization and psychosocial impact. Beginning with an examination of deviance as the rationale for a formalized juvenile justice system, the history and development of the juvenile justice system was examined briefly utilizing the Massachusetts system as an example of juvenile justice at an advanced level.

All three components of the system were analyzed and the characteristics having a major psychosocial impact on young offenders were identified. Both the uncoordinated non-system nature of juvenile justice and its formal labelling of young people as deviants were shown to reinforce the counter-identity formation process young offenders may be subject to. A delinquent's committment to anti-social behavior may in fact be increased as an effect of the juvenile justice system's impact.

With this knowledge, it was possible to develop additional intervention principles that delinquency programs can incorporate into their operation. These system based principles were then integrated into the principles developed in Chapter II to form an outline of delinquency intervention guidelines to be used in the design and evaluation of delin-

quency programs.

In the next chapter, there will be a discussion of how these guidelines will be used in the evaluation of an operating program in the Western Massachusetts juvenile justice system.

C H A P T E R I V

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

As stated in Chapter I, one objective of this inquiry is to demonstrate use of delinquency intervention guidelines through evaluation of an existing juvenile justice program. This chapter will describe in detail the methods and procedures utilized in accomplishing this evaluation.

Once the program to be evaluated was selected, data on the structure and operation of the program was obtained from a recent evaluation of the program by its funding source. A non-experimental investigation of the program's organizational structure, management, staffing and operation then took place utilizing the intervention guidelines derived from the literature and theory presented in Chapters II and III.

Program Description

The program selected for evaluation in this inquiry will be known as the Community Detention Program (CDP).

This program provides 30-day intake and community residential detention services for courts in four counties in Massachusetts and also holds youth committed to the Department of Youth Services who are awaiting a residential or non-residential placement. Of the six hundred fifty youth per year detained in lieu of bail by Massachusetts courts in CDP's region, approximately five hundred fifty are admitted to CDP and the remainder are admitted to a secure lock-up detention center. CDP holds an additional two hundred youth per year who are committed to DYS and awaiting residential or non-residential treatment.

CDP has a variety of residential foster care settings into which these youth can be placed. These settings are designed around three basic foster care models.

1. Family foster homes taking one youth each with no unusual or special arrangements made to take into account a delinquent's presence in the home - a "normal" family situation
2. Intensive two bed foster homes with full time salaried foster parents and one part time relief staff who take two to three youth into their own home, provide twenty-

four hour supervision and intensified care

3. Intensive Shelter Foster homes with full time salaried houseparents or live-in staff and one to four child care workers, take four or five youth and provide twenty-four hour supervision and intensive care

The CDP intensive homes can expand their capacity by one or two during peak intake periods so that overall capacity of the system can be expanded. The types of setting and their capacity are shown in Figure 4.

The proposals for the services offered by CDP are contained in Appendix A and explain in detail the operation of these different settings.

Figure 5 is an organizational chart of CDP and shows the different levels of staff and their responsibilities. It should be noted that the Intake Unit/Intensive Shelter served a dual function in CDP. All youth are first processed through the Intake unit before placement in one of the other settings which can include the intensive shelter attached and integrated with the Intake unit.

Figure 6 shows CDP operating activities at management levels and Table 5 shows activities at the operational

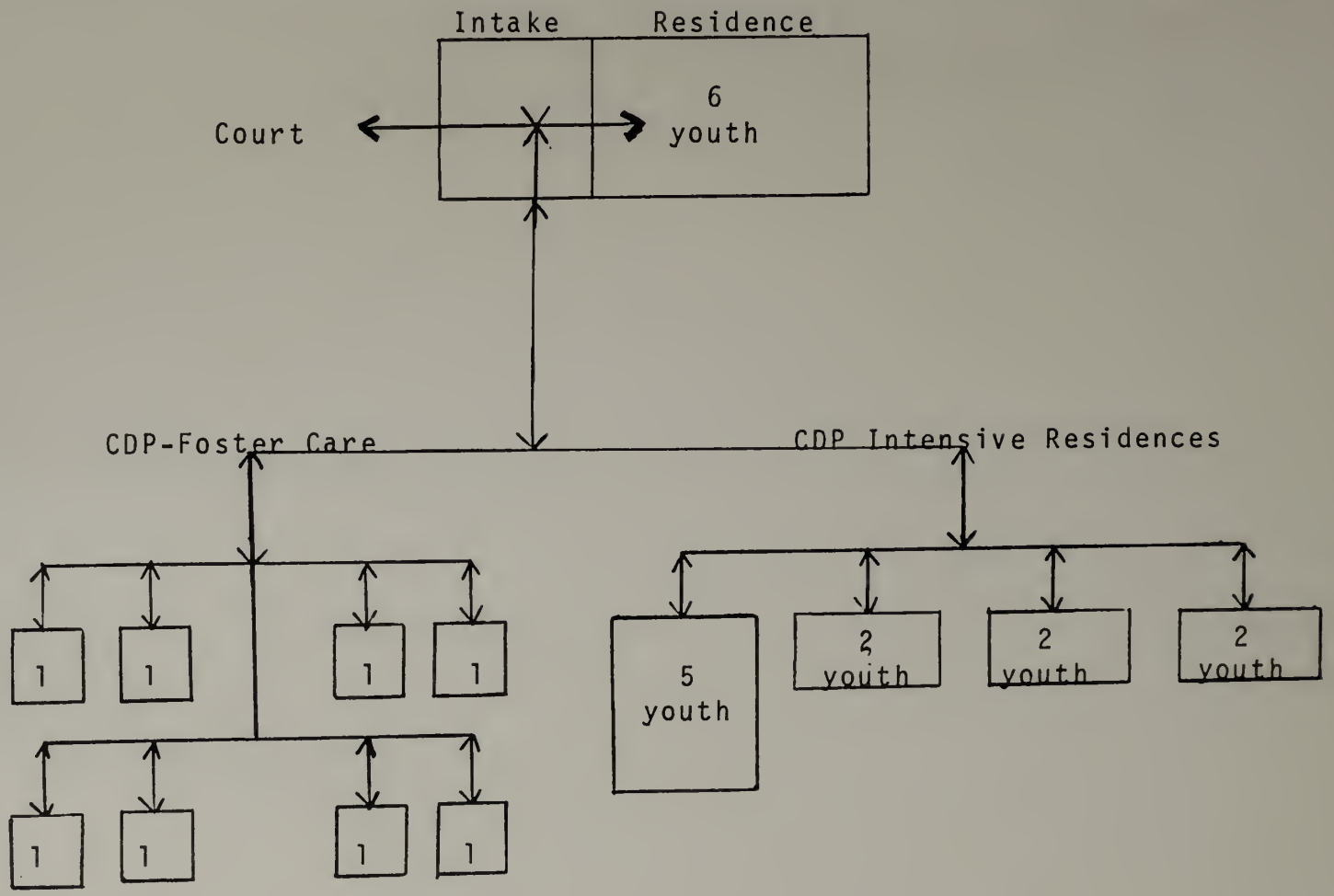

Figure 4. Community Detention Program, residential units, capacity and client flow

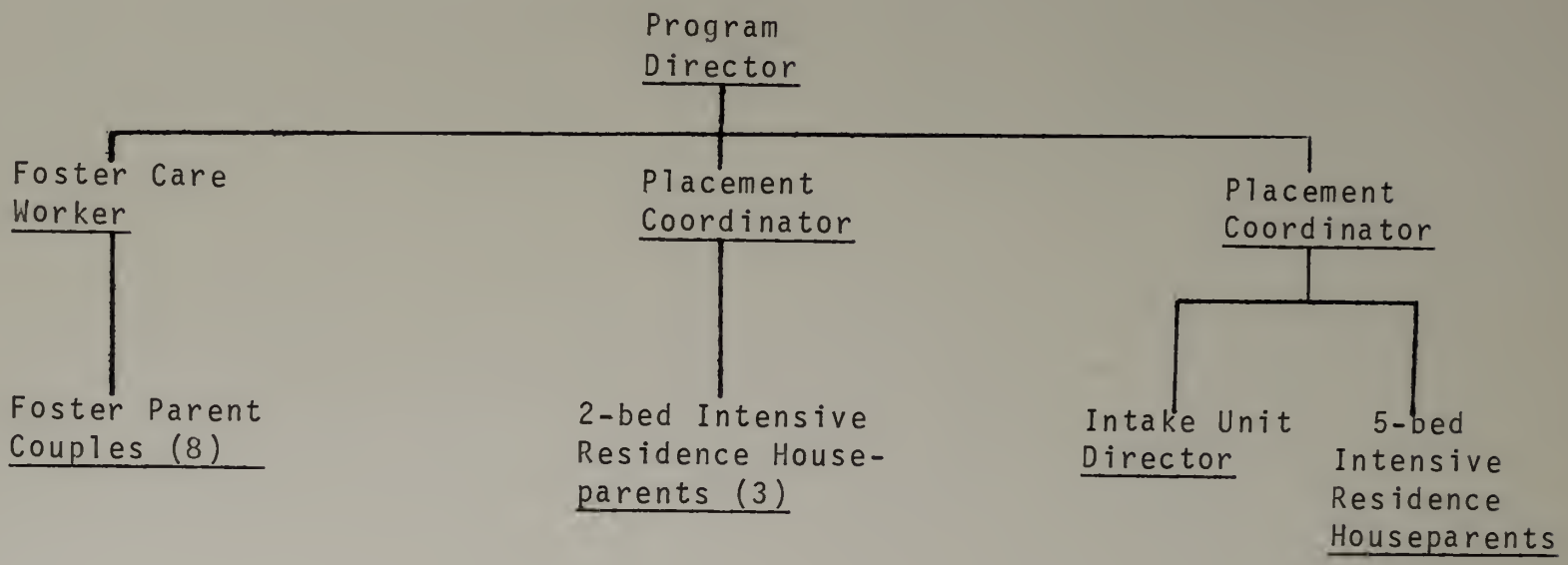

Figure 5. Community Detention Program organizational chart

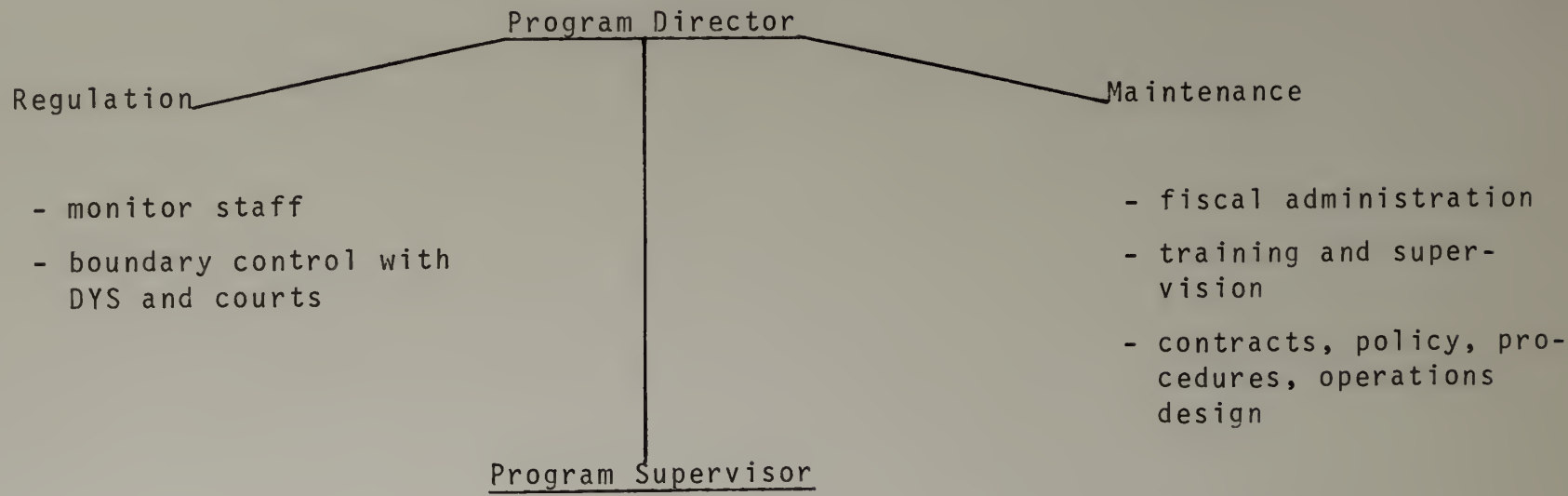

Figure 6. Community Detention Program-Operating Activities, Program Management Staff

TABLE 5

Community Detention Program-Operating Activities, Operational Staff

Intake	Placement	Termination
Program Supervisor Intake Unit Worker	Foster Homes and CDP residence	CDP Placement Supervisor Foster Care Placement Worker
-receive youth	-receive youth	-contact probation
-orient	-orient	officer
-collect data, medical	-provide constructive	-attend court hearing
info	programming	-speak re disposition
-consult with super-	-manage behavior	-terminate youth
visor on placement	-prepare for termina-	
-prepare youth for	tion	
placement	-transport to court	
-supervise departure		

level and reflects the movement of youth through the system.

CDP primary tasks. By its own definition, the primary tasks of CDP are as follows:

1. To provide for the care, maintenance and safekeeping of detained youth in settings appropriate to their needs, keeping in mind the need to control the behavior of youth and to insure the availability of youth for court appearances or placement
2. To provide positive and constructive educational, recreational, and work activities to keep youth positively occupied and productive
3. Provide a stable, positive and healthy environment in which with guidance, youth can identify and work on general interpersonal and intrapersonal problems so as to assume positive control over their behavior
4. To communicate, coordinate, and advocate with referring agencies and persons in the best interest of youth

These characteristics briefly describe CDP, its operation, and goals.

Detention as intervention? Questions can be raised as to why

a detention program should be selected for an intervention program evaluation. Detention within juvenile justice is regarded legally as a non-intervention situation. Most offenders in short-term detention are not yet adjudicated and, therefore, not legally defined as eligible for treatment. Indeed, attempting to formally intervene in a young person's life at this point in time can be seen as a violation of their constitutional rights. The fact that short term detention is often used as a result of informal covert motives to restrain and punish youth[137] would be sufficient reason to avoid any intended intervention.

The justification for considering detention as a form of intervention lies in viewing it as a more limited non-specific system level intervention. The definition of intervention in Chapter I states that delinquency intervention is an organized effort to formally interrupt delinquent behavior and as a result of some planned interaction with or Treatment of individuals or groups to reduce or

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[137] Lermon, p. 391.

prevent further delinquent behavior. Detention meets the first criteria under this definition as it is clearly an interruption of presupposed delinquent or irresponsible behavior as a result of a decision by a court.

The interaction with or treatment of its target population must be very generalized and not specifically focus on any individual. No specific intervention can take place until an individual is adjudicated and even then the choice of the individual is respected.

Examples of limited intervention goals can be found in a 1970 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication. HEW states that detention must provide:

> 1. Constructive and satisfying activities, not merely to amuse the child or to take up his time, but to provide an opportunity for him to develop and recognize his strengths and to help him find socially acceptable ways of gaining satisfaction. These activities can provide both a basis for positive staff-child relationships and a setting for observation and study.
>
> 2. Individual and group guidance to help the

child use his detention experience positively.[138]

There are a number of rationale's for attaching such limited positive intervention goals to the detention experience. The first of these is derived from consideration of the documentation concerning the potential damage to youth in detention settings. HEW stated in 1960,

> ...being in detention may be harmful to the child. In detention, he is confined with other perhaps more serious, delinquents. Having little confidence in his own ability to get along in a socially acceptable manner he may gain status as a delinquent and identify himself with other delinquents in their hostile attitude toward any adult in authority and against society in general. Not having been successful in other respects, the notoriety of being placed in detention may give the delinquent child the recognition that he has been craving; this in turn may confirm him in his delinquent pattern of behavior.[139]

Coates, Miller, and Ohlin note that "exposure to traditional custodial juvenile institutions has often had dele-

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[138]U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, State Responsibility for Juvenile Detention Care, by John J. Downey (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 4.

[139]Ibid, p. 3.

terious effects on youth,"[140] and that youth who are:

> removed from their communities to await trial, are more likely to be labelled criminal by their community even if charges are subsequently dropped, than individuals who stay in their community on personal recognizance.[141]

Coates, Miller, and Ohlin in a later paper on detention and its consequences conclude that the psychosocial impact of detention is not clear. "Detention may have a significant effect on self-image, confidence, or feelings of alienation but it is possible that many youth are able to neutralize these effects in a number of ways."[142]

The potential negative effects of detention cited by these individuals require at least limited intervention to

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[140] Robert B. Coates, Alden D. Miller and Lloyd E. Ohlin, The Labelling Perspective and Innovation in Juvenile Correctional Systems: An Analysis Based Largely on the Massachusetts Experience (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Criminal Justice, Law School of Harvard University, 1974), p. 1.

[141] Ibid, p. 20.

[142] Idem, Juvenile Detention and its Consequences (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Criminal Justice, Law School of Harvard University, 1975), p. 1.

offset them.

Additional rationales for viewing detention as an intervention are found in the benefits for this inquiry of looking at the intervention aspects of detention. Detention especially in Massachusetts is juvenile offenders first experience being removed from the community and their first encounter with youth services as the third component of the system. It is the only point in the system where all three components of juvenile justice are likely to be still involved in the resolution of the young offenders difficulties.

Detention is, therefore, an excellent time to present a youth with a picture of juvenile justice organizational consistency; to neutralize contradictory covert messages the youth may have received; and to establish the frame of reference that he/she will be accountable and responsible for his/her behavior. These points might well be considered valid intervention goals for detention programs.

The selection of the Community Detention Program for evaluation as an intervention program is, therefore, justifiable as well as relevant to a number of issues raised in

this inquiry. The conclusions to be drawn from the evaluation will be applicable and transferable to intervention programs located at other points in the juvenile justice system.

Evaluation Procedures

The data on the Community Detention Program to which the intervention principles derived in Chapters II and III were applied for this evaluation, was collected in May, 1978 by the Department of Youth SErvices Central Evaluation Team (CET). The procedures utilized in collecting this data are contained in the Appendix B. The data collected is also found in the appendix. The report of the monitoring and evaluation team makes observations concerning the operation of the program in the following areas: residence facilities, administration and staff, clinical services, behavioral controls, educational services, termination, and records. It is both the program description in the previous chapter and the observations of the Central Evaluation Team which will be subjected to an analysis utilizing the derived intervention principles. The format for the analysis will be the

outline formulated at the end of Chapter III which incorporates principles derived in Chapters II and III. The general areas described in that outline are:

1. Separation-Individuation
2. Boundaries
3. Authority vs. Responsibility
4. Sub-Cultures
5. Family
6. Community Interaction

With the observations of the DYS evaluation team organized into this format for analysis, major and minor findings can be made. Conclusions drawn from these findings, and recommendations concerning the program can then be presented.

SUMMARY

This chapter presented the methodology to be used in evaluating a delinquency intervention program according to the intervention principles proposed in earlier chapters. The rationale for the selection of the Community Detention Program as the program to be evaluated was presented with discussion centering on the limited intervention aspects of

detention programs.

The procedure for evaluation of the Community Detention Program was then discussed. Observations made by a Department of Youth Services evaluation team, in a recent evaluation of the Community Detention Program will be the data for this evaluation. A format for analyzing data was presented drawing on the delinquency intervention principles presented earlier. Organizing observational data into this format will produce evaluation findings upon which conclusions and recommendations can be based.

The next chapter will present the findings generated by this evaluative methodology.

C H A P T E R V

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The findings of the DYS Central Evaluating Team were made in areas of CDP's structure, staff and administration, and program operation. With regard to the latter area, findings were made in areas of CDP's behavioral control systems, clinical program, educational program, termination procedures and records.

These findings will be presented under the main intervention principle headings to which they are relevant and then will be discussed.

Separation-Individuation

Progressive stages. The findings of the CET do not give indication of CDP structuring its operations in any progressive stages through which youth in the program move. As indicated by the program proposals (Appendix A), there are certainly discontinuities in the program process that appear to be stages but these are the result of physical movements from one setting to another, e.g. from intake unit to foster home. Any reinforcement of movement from one CDP setting to another

tends to be informal, not consistent among all staff, and not formally incorporated as a program procedure.

Increased separation and independence with progressive movement. The CET findings note no formalized means of reinforcing youth who move progressively through CDP. Many of the youth are transferred from settings of greater control and authority to situations of lesser restraint. Such movement is rarely conditional upon a youth having formally achieved specific goals or made definite progress. Decisions behind such transfers are often based on informal information which CDP placement supervisors receive from staff concerning a youngsters ability to handle a setting with fewer controls and limits. Such positive assessments of a juvenile's ability to assume additional behavioral responsibility are passed on frequently to youth by placement coordinators but again in an informal way. One constraint on CDP being able to reward a youngster's progress with increased separation and independence is the inconsistent availability of appropriate foster care settings. Because foster homes take frequent vacations and because of the difficulties involved in maintaining sufficient number of foster homes, transfers from

one setting to another are often made on the basis of space available. In these cases, minimal consideration can be given to a youth's suitability for such setting. When the best supervised and most restrictive placements are filled, decisions about who will go to the least restrictive homes are based on assessments of which youngster is most capable of being maintained in such settings.

Separation-Individuation: positive program content. The CET found many positive examples of program activities in CDP which have value for positive identity experiences. In general, staff displayed interpersonal and social skills that supported very positive connections with youth. The intensive foster home and shelter settings in particular have devised more varied educational and pre-vocational activities including the services of a part time teacher.

The individual foster homes have fewer resources for programming and focus on family-oriented activities which have merit in terms of identity formation but which are of a more informal nature. Potential for boredom among youth in foster homes was considerable.

The most clearly positive content of CDP is the environments which are provided for youth. All have the appearance

and atmosphere of a normal home and for youth with recent exposure to negative judgments about themselves have much positive value in terms of identity formation.

One finding of CET with regard to program content was that educational programming needed implementation on a more comprehensive level in all units. More educational resources are essential and programming needed to be implemented with greater consistency in both intensive foster and shelter homes.

The vocational content of the CDP was restricted to prevocational, crafts, and work activities. The intensive foster and shelter homes incorporated craft and work activities into their daily schedule and some were able to capitalize on relevant survival activities as vocational or prevocational activities. Cutting wood for heating; growing gardens for food; home repairs and remodeling are some of the activities that take place.

Discussion. CET findings relevant to overall separation-individuation issues confirm that the CDP is not presently structured to reflect or clinically support the separation-individuation process in several respects. Program process is not structured into progressive stages through which youth

might pass, nor are opportunities to reinforce progressive movement with increasing separation and independence from adult authorities and control taken advantage of. Without a structured process that can give a youth a stronger sense of their positive capabilities at a time when their negative behavior is being emphasized, counter identity formation and all of its implications as discussed by Erikson, is reinforced.[143]

Boundaries

Clarity and demarcation. CET data on CDP clinical behavioral control, and program termination components, reveal that boundaries between the program and external systems are clearly defined. Young offenders are aware that they have left court and are going to the CDP intake unit or that they are leaving a CDP home and going to court. Within the CDP process, other boundaries are associated with moving from one setting to another, e.g. intake unit to residential unit. The marking of such boundary crossings is by events,

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[143] Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, p. 74.

i.e. transport, and not by any attempt to symbolically and intentionally give meaning to these boundaries through a particular activity or behavior.

Positive demarcation. CDP apparently makes no formal or consistent attempt to attach positive meanings to boundaries especially those which youth cross to leave CDP. Given the negative connotations attached to boundary crossings into CDP, i.e. court appearances, movement out of CDP should be symbolized by some positive demarcation. Individual foster homes or staff have developed informal rituals generally surrounding a youth's departure but such events are not consistent.

Reinforcing non-deviant roles. While much staff and foster parent energy go into reinforcing positive behavior of youth in CDP, the CET observations indicate no formal recognition or marking of this behavior through any ritualistic or ceremonious events. Many informal events and interactions occur but none formally symbolizing a youngsters assumption of positive behavior patterns.

Boundaries: discussion. Earlier discussions on the views of Erikson and Lifton found boundary considerations to be an

essential aspect of the separation-individuation process. Clear boundaries and symbolic markings of developmental events and crossings are essential in movement through a series of progressive stages.

As it is not structured into progressive stages, CDP also lacks internal boundaries to mark positive behavior and growth. Having such boundaries as well as more positive demarcation of movement out of CDP would reinforce positive identity formation processes and help create space for youth to gain perspective on their experiences in CDP.

Authority vs Responsibility

There are many external expectations on CDP to control the behavior of youth. Courts and DYS in fact see such control as being CDP's main function and place little priority on more positive goals. CDP in general has no single behavioral control system but emphasizes diversity in the levels of controls and limits in its different settings. The system for gradual transfer of behavioral responsibility to youth vary from one setting to another.

Limits and controls. Within the CDP, all homes were found by

CET to have systematized with varying degrees of formality procedures for setting and maintaining limits and controls.

The five bed intensive shelter has an extensive list of rules and deals swiftly with violations and emphasizes the accountability of youth for their behavior. Supervision by staff is very close. Consequences for misbehavior or rule violations include room confinement, doing extra chores, loss of smoking privileges, and loss of outside privileges. Adults in this home stress the maintenance of control over youth and their behavior and with especially resistant youth will use threats and intimidation to impose consequences.

One of the intensive two bed homes also has a formally defined system of limits, controls, and consequences. A long list of rules are presented to youth when they are placed in the home. When youth misbehave, the houseparents utilize logical consequences to maintain limits. As much as possible consequences are logically related to the rule being violated, e.g. leaving T.V. on results in loss of T.V. privileges. A difference between this home and the five bed home is that in the former, rules are more oriented towards maintaining the family style and atmosphere of the home and in the latter, the emphasis is on keeping order and control.

The methods of setting limits in the remaining three CDP intensive foster homes are more informal. Systemitized lists of rules were drawn up at one point but are rarely used. Youth are informed of the more important behavioral expectations when they arrive in the home but emphasis is placed on maintaining a more informal family style. Misbehavior is dealt with by expressions of parental displeasure or "talking it out". Consequences such as loss of smoking privileges or having to stay in are imposed in more extreme cases but not always with consistency. One home falls back on formal rules and consequences when they encounter youth who are unable to function well within a family model.

The intake/shelter home's system of setting limits is in transition. It is moving away from an informal family type system to a more formalized system of written rules and defined consequences. This shift is a function of the home working with larger groups of youth over time and of their movement away from the foster care model during the period of this evaluation. Live in foster parents were replaced by live in staff and the home became less family oriented and more staff oriented.

The individual foster homes in CDP all function informally with regard to setting and maintaining limits and controls. Expectations on youth are based on the family's life style and functioning and are communicated and maintained informally. Foster families must sometimes enforce behavioral restrictions imposed on youth from external sources and at times these restrictions are in contradiction to a family's own sub-culture and must somehow be assimilated and integrated within that family's style.

Behavioral responsibility. The reliance of CDP on open foster care based setting results in youth having many more behavioral options than are found in traditional detention settings. The lack of physical controls gives youth a braoder range of behavioral choices than in more restrictive settings. There is much more leeway for self-determination of behavior.

With each CDP setting, the areas in which youth have responsibility is clarified through written rules. The rationales which determine where adults have responsibility for youth's behavior and at what point youth assume that responsibility are not explicit.

Methods of shifting to increased responsibility. CDP has no formalized methods for shifting responsibility for limits and controls from adults to youth nor are such shifts emphasized by management. The primary expectations on the CDP system are for behavioral control and it is the mechanisms for behavioral control which receive the most attention and emphasis. There are many instances in CDP residential settings where such shifts occur subtly and informally from authoritarian control to self-responsibility and vice-versa. Supervision of certain youth decreases as youth show positive behavior and establish close relationships with staff and these youth informally have more responsibility for the control of their own behavior.

Peer culture role. Family sub-cultures rather than peer sub-cultures predominate in CDP so that by default, responsibility for behavior controls and limits does not rest primarily with peer cultures. In the various family sub-cultures within CDP, responsibility for limits and controls rests with the parental figures or adults. This responsibility as a rule does not shift more within the family culture to include other members.

CET findings indicate only limited formal roles for peer sub-cultures in overall program operations in general and in behavioral control systems in particular. There is difficulty maintaining a consistent peer culture in CDP settings because of the constantly shifting membership and there is reluctance by staff to invest much responsibility in peer cultures. Staff also do not have training or skills in sub-culture development. While developing sub-cultures are free to support and reinforce the negative behavior of its members, the factors which work against sub-cultures having major negative impact.[144] Group residences in CDP have only six youth at the most and with a constantly changing membership there is difficulty in mobilizing and sustaining negative energy. Rapidly developing counter sub-cultures have produced sporadic episodes of extreme behaviors but are never sustained for long periods. If CDP moves towards non-family cultures to any extent, its staff will need to become more skilled and sophisticated in reinforcing, maintaining

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[144] Akers, Burgess, and Johnson, "Opiate Use, Addiction Relapse", Social Problems 15 (Spring): 459-69.

and utilizing positive peer sub-cultures. Group techniques will need to be incorporated into CDP clinical strategies.

Discussion. Several findings concerning internal authority vs. responsibility issues bear discussion.

While there are many opportunities for CDP youth to assume responsibility for their behavior, the mechanisms for their doing so are not explicit. There is often confusion on the part of youths as to when and how they are responsible for their behavior and at what point adults are responsible. This confusion can lead to unnecessary confrontations over autonomy issues which result in the fight-flight reactions in Chapter II's discussion of Erikson and Rioch.[145]

Additionally, in CDP, a large number of youth are placed annually in settings having great diversity in the degree of limits, controls placed on behavior. There are different formal and informal mechanisms employed to set and maintain limits and controls. There is an issue of in-

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[145]See Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 286; Rioch, pp. 56-66.

ternal consistency here. To the degree that youth are moved within the CDP system, they are subject to contradictory and inconsistent limits and controls. As we know from Erikson, Lifton, and Wolfgang, such inconsistency aggravates the behavior of youth seeking order and stability. Some youth shifted quickly from one setting to another sometimes experience degrees of controls or lack of them which are inappropriate to their needs at a given point in time.

Given the often reported shortage of residential resources resulting in youth being placed in settings based on availability, it is somewhat surprising that CDP still relies on an informal often hasty intake and assessment system to make placement decisions. A more formalized systematic procedure would help CDP focus more on the specific control and responsibility needs of youth and help them avoid having to shift youth too quickly to inappropriate settings. At the very least, where such shifts are unavoidable, the new residential setting could be better prepared to deal with youth by focusing on needs identified through a more indepth formal assessment procedure.

Authority-Responsibility: Internal-External Consistency

Youth are placed in CDP from both DYS and juvenile courts and each agency has continuing interest and jurisdiction over youth while they are in CDP. When youth depart CDP they return to either of these two agencies for further action.

CDP staff are in daily contact with DYS and court personnel to coordinate the transfer and placement of youth. CET findings are that effective working relationships exist between staff in these three agencies concerning the intake, placement, and termination of youth in CDP. Placement coordinators in CDP take considerable initiative in communicating with DYS staff and court probation officers to receive and disperse information about youth and to participate in ongoing service planning. In one court, CET observed some discontent and frustration with the direction of CDP's efforts. Courts in general react to CDP's lack of physical security and hardware, feel inadequate controls are placed on the behavior of youth, and have voiced considerable frustration during the five years that CDP has been in existence. CET highlighted the anger and frustration of one juvenile court

judge who had strong concerns about the ineffectiveness of the whole DYS system and CDP's part in it.

Within DYS there is also some discontent expressed again over CDP's lack of security and the inopportuneness with which youth abscond from care. DYS reaction was less intense than court reactions, however.

Contradictory messages. CET's evaluation was not to the extent that it would reach findings as to what contradictory messages if any youth might be receiving. Given the discontented attitudes picked up in other parts of the system, it could be speculated that youth pick-up some of this discontent or its aftermath. Judges, probation officers or other staff may be harsher in their treatment of youth in reaction to "milder" treatment received in CDP. Such reactions have been documented in other systems.[146]

CDP's intake and placement procedures focus on settling youth in through immediate debriefing or clarification of any issues or concerns expressed both at the intake unit or in

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[146] Miller, Ohlin, and Coates, Juvenile Detention and its Consequences, p. 1.

placement and informing youth of their options within the system. This procedure although often informal, is functional from the point of view of diminishing misconceptions or misunderstandings about the system.

Discussion internal external consistency. Findings indicate CDP functioning at high levels in communicating, coordinating, and advocating with other system components with regard to individual youngsters' experience in the system.

Of concern was the intensity of prejudicial feelings against CDP's non-secure orientation particularly by court officials and the covert informal impact this may have on youth. Given the probable view of the juvenile courts that detention has a social control function,[147] discontent with systems like CDP's which does not share the social control ethic, is likely to continue.

Sub-cultures

Observational data identifies the sub-cultural mileaus in CDP as being family-based. Two settings could be charac-

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[147] Lerman, p. 390.

terized as non-family settings dominated by adult controls but with potential youth peer sub-cultures. In general, CDP deals with peer sub-cultures by not dealing with them; by avoiding residential situations that allow peer sub-cultures to develop; and by taking the view that residential settings are most "natural" when they are family oriented. In the settings where peer sub-cultures could develop the short term nature of the program and the frequently changing group compositions diminish the problematic impact of a negative sub-culture. Problems associated with delinquent sub-cultures do not appear as frequently or with as much intensity. These same factors also diminish the potential positive utility of peer sub-cultures in CDP.

Sub-cultures: normality, belonging status. The sub-cultures in CDP are attempts to create family like, well supervised settings in which youth can be maintained for short periods of time. As a substitute family, CDP family homes are a source of relationships and belonging and provide a sense of normality associated with being in a family. CDP does not design a peer sub-culture strategy into its programming and adolescent needs for peer support are met in an unplanned

Fashion with occasional consequences, e.g. runs, thefts, etc., that are detrimental to CDP and youth.

Symbolic content. CDP matches youth to family sub-cultures resembling their own class, racial, or ethnic background. Within group settings, staff are mostly young adults, both male and female in their early twenties who represent a variety of class, racial, and social backgrounds. Several ex-offenders have been staff in CDP. Although the availability of homes puts practical constraints on matching all youth appropriately, staff are generally able to place youth in settings that offer identifiable symbols and styles relevant to the youth's background. The only major exception is with Hispanic youth. CDP has been unable to recruit Hispanic staff or foster homes to meet the needs of these yough.

Reinforcing sub-culture values. CDP has no formalized means of reinforcing the values of the sub-cultures in which youth are placed. CDP emphasizes the selection of healthy and viable family sub-cultures which communicate strong positive values to youth. The maintenance of that sub-culture becomes a matter of CDP placement coordinators providing support to foster parents. Against the onslaught of a continuous stream

of youngsters moving through a family sub-culture, foster parents need support, guidance, and advice in maintaining the style of their own family. CDP has no formalized support technologies for doing this but relies on the human relations skills of coordinators to provide back up and support to foster homes when necessary.

Within group settings there again is no formalized system of building and maintaining sub-cultural values. In both group settings, the culture in the home is defined and controlled by adults with few mechanisms for sub-cultural maintenance. One group setting focuses on adult control and highly structured behavioral expectations and the other setting expresses much more informal expectations and a looser "I won't hassle you, you don't hassle me!" style.

Sub-cultures: external impact. Since it has a quasi-captive short term population, CDP does not view impacting external peer sub-cultures as one of its tasks as a program. The juvenile offenders in CDP are under the jurisdiction of other agencies for longer term intervention and such peer sub-culture impact is viewed as being the responsibility of these other agencies.

Sub-cultures: discussion. The predominant sub-cultural mileaus in CDP are designed on family models. Their intent is to provide positive and supportive settings in which for short periods adolescents can find relationships, a sense of belonging, and reinforcement for self-evaluation and planning. Such family cultures are not as relevant to the adolescent experience as peer sub-cultural mileau's but CDP takes the view that for short periods of time, their family based settings recreate for the young person a more positive base for supportive relationships and behavior than a peer based setting which must struggle with negative dynamics over a longer period of time before a positive sub-culture establishes itself. Family sub-cultures also avoid the potential secondary deviance spiral that takes place in peer sub-cultures when germinal counter identity formation is strongly reinforced by peer cultures.[148]

The lack of a peer culture focus with CDP does have potential detriment at least for youth in the two group sett-

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[148]Empey and Lubeck, p. 160.

ings where negative peer dynamics can flourish occasionally without resistance.

Family

CDP has no programmatic focus on the families of youth who come into its care, therefore, discussion in this area will be limited. It must participate in the juvenile justice system's disruption of family structures and inability to recognize and develop the strengths and supports that families can provide. The detention experience often separates youth from families, places them at some distance from their homes, and makes the resolution of important family issues more difficult. Since the longer term nature of family treatment tasks is in the domain of the courts and DYS, CDP must play into a process that is not family oriented.

One constraint on CDP's developing a stronger orientation, is its use of a foster family model. There is an inevitable friction that develops when natural and foster

family cultures come into contact.[149] Perhaps one factor in CDP not aggressively promoting stronger natural family contacts is the potential difficulties developing around the head on collision of disparate family cultures.

Community Interaction

Degree of Interaction. As a community based program, CDP promotes a high degree of interaction between youth and the community. Youth in individual foster homes have the highest degree of interaction and integration with the community. Youth in intensive foster homes have less interaction with the community but much more than is the case in traditional detention settings.[150]

CET's evaluation report did not isolate what impact this interaction might have on youth. Certainly casual community observers cannot detect any distinction between CDP youth and

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[149] Minuchin, p. 63.

[150] Miller, Ohlin, and Coates, Juvenile Detention and its Consequences, p. 48.

other youth. On the basis of Miller, Ohlin, and Coates[151] conclusion that criminals detained in institutions are viewed as more deviant in the eyes of the community than criminals who are released on their own recognizance, one could conclude that the effect of the higher degree of community interaction is to reduce stigmatization.

Normalization. If the affect of increased community interaction is to reduce stigmatization and if youth in CDP are placed into settings which appear for all intents and purposes to be "normal", the conclusions drawn again by Alden, Miller and Coates[152] support that CDP's impact would offset deviant labels attached to youth by the community. Such labels are offset in the sense that youth are able to receive sufficient positive identity material from community interaction and normality, that positive identity elements are reinforced and counter identity elements are de-emphasized.

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[151] Ibid, p. 137.

[152] Ibid, p. 138.

Discussion. The degree of interaction youth in CDP have with the community and the normality of the settings in which youth are placed, is part of an overall orientation of providing positive identity ingredients to youth and can offset the counter-identity formation effects of the stigmatization and labelling experience. This "normal" community orientation of CDP is one of its strongest assets.

Summary

The preceding findings and their analysis within the six intervention principle headings derived from earlier chapters, has highlighted many aspects of CDP which could operate more effectively as well as programmatic components that have very positive impact on youth. Emphasizing these latter areas, modifying other components, and developing a more formal clinical focus would greatly enhance CDP's level of effectiveness.

In the remaining Chapter of this paper, conclusions regarding the intervention focus of CDP will be drawn and recommendations will be made.

C H A P T E R V I

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to draw conclusions from the analysis of findings in the previous chapter; to make specific recommendations concerning the design and operation of CDP' and to summarize the content of this inquiry.

Conclusions

From the analysis of findings in the preceding chapter, a number of conclusions are evident as a result of applying delinquency intervention principles to the findings of the DYS Central Evaluation Team report on CDP. These recommendations relate to the clinical design of CDP and its operational procedures.

Separation-individuation. CDP does not adequately reflect the adolescent separation-individuation process in its operations. Nor are boundaries within the program process sufficiently defined or clearly marked. There is sufficient positive content within CDP to be structured into more formally

defined separation-individuation stages. Existing discontinuities in the program process can also be utilized in designing such steps.

Consistency. While the predominance of familial informality within CDP has much value, there are not sufficiently defined commonalities and consistencies in the way youth are dealt with in CDP homes. More common threads should run through the system. This consistency is important for youth who transfer from one setting to another. Commonalities in the kinds of limits and controls set from one residence to another need to be identified and expressed to youth at intake.

Authority vs. responsibility. CDP does not clearly or consistently define its authority vs. responsibility structure for youth. While there are many opportunities for youth to be responsible for their behavior, it is not clear when and why adults will assume control and there are no mechanisms to shift behavioral responsibility gradually from adults to youth. There is variability from one setting to another in the way behavioral controls and responsibility are arranged but no formal or systematic structure that makes maximum use

of the diversity throughout CDP's system.

Juvenile justice interaction. There is insufficient interaction and visibility of CDP management with other juvenile justice system management. The high intensity of feelings that runs through courts in particular needs to be at least reduced although it is doubtful negative attitudes could be eradicated altogether. The value in increased interaction and visibility is to dampen the energies that fuel the covert structures of the juvenile justice system which give contradictory messages for youth.

Sub-cultures. CDP lacks well developed sub-cultural management technologies and group treatment techniques for settings where groups of youth are placed. Sub-cultures can be utilized positively in setting limits and controls and are an excellent and influential context for youth to function in.

Family. CDP's orientation towards the natural families of youth does not provide strong support for the relationships between youth and their families. CDP does not sufficiently offset the juvenile justice system's tendencies to break down family structures and take over family functions.

Assets. CDP has a number of assets which can be utilized in

developing a strong clinically focused program consistent with the intervention principles proposed in this inquiry.

CDP has a diversity of residential settings which can be matched to the needs of youth in the program and a variety of family modalities which can deal effectively with a wide range of youth.

There is a high degree of community interaction and normality which has positive psychosocial implications for youth. Staff appear to be highly skilled and provide considerable positive interpersonal experiences for youth within family contexts. A great deal of ingenuity on the part of staff makes many normal household activities into relevant educational and pre-vocational curriculums.

Of major import is the informal non-program style associated with CDP. This informality is a real resource for program development purposes and utilizing it more strategically would enhance CDP's effectiveness.

Recommendations

In light of the conclusions made with regard to CDP, a number of very specific recommendations concerning its design

and operation can be made.

These recommendations reflect the need for a formalized clinical focus and more systematic structure within CDP. CDP operates its many functions informally at present allowing individual styles to dominate its direction. The development and implementation of a systematic clinical focus and proceduralized strategies would give the diverse components of CDP a common purpose, provide common tasks to work on, and still allow for the diversity of styles and settings which are a major asset for CDP.

Primary tasks. The beginning step in designing a generalized clinical focus for CDP is the revision of its primary task definitions. The following are suggested:

1. To provide for the care maintenance and safekeeping of youth in short term family oriented or group settings appropriate to their needs.

2. To provide adequate controls on the behavior of youth and to insure their availability for court appearances or placement. This is accomplished through twenty-four supervision when necessary, through positive relationships between staff/foster parents and youth and through requiring accountability

of youth for their behavior at all times.

3. To provide for youth: positive relationships, a sense of achievement and growth, an awareness of their ability to assume responsibility for their behavior, and to set direction for the resolution of life concerns and problems.

4. To present the juvenile justice system at all times as a consistent unified group of people concerned with youth growth and development; to neutralize attitudes of youth not consistent with that view; and to communicate/coordinate with other juvenile justice system components to insure consistency in the treatment of youth.

These definitions of primary tasks more clearly reflect overall goals and objectives for CDP operating activities.

Authority-responsibility. A second step in implementing a stronger clinical focus for CDP is the development of a more systematized structure for balancing external behavioral controls on youth and the amount of behavioral responsibility allowed to youth. Ideally all youth in CDP ought to experience a gradual decrease in adult controls over their behavior as they assume increasing responsibility. The different settings in CDP can be classified in order of the degree of

imposed behavioral controls and the degree of behavioral responsibility allowed. Within specific levels of authority/responsibility, different homes can also be rated in comparison to each other on the authority-responsibility continuum. It would be inappropriate in a short-term program for youth to move thru several settings as they assume increasing behavioral responsibility, but when it is necessary or advisable to move or transfer youth, such a classification system will be helpful in placing youth.

It is recommended that youth be presented with this classification system at intake and that they understand in what part of the system they are being placed, what the rationales are, what limits and controls will be imposed on them and why, and what responsibilities they will have.

In designing this system, it is essential that if there is more than one home at each classification level that they agree on the basic authority/responsibility parameters for that level but leave a lot of space for diversity and individualized lifestyles.

A suggested structure for classifying CDP settings on an authority/responsibility continuum from most restrictive to

to least restrictive would be the following:

Level I	Intake Unit
Level II	Intensive Shelter Units
Level III	Intensive Two-bed Foster Homes
Level IV	Individual Foster Homes

One value in the Intake Unit being the most restrictive, best supervised setting in the system, even though it is non-residential, is that when youth leave it, they are already making progress! That achievement should be made clear to them.

Within each of the authority/responsibility levels, each home should structure its own process in a continuum of decreasing controls and increasing behavioral responsibility. There may be a real limitation on how much behavioral responsibility youth at Levels II and III can assume but within these limitations, youth should be able to move from positions of lesser behavioral responsibility to greater behavioral responsibility. This movement should be regarded as growth and achievement and should proceed in steps with boundary regions between them that are clearly marked with symbolic rituals. At Level V, these steps may be more in-

formally structured and attuned to an individual family's style.

One way to accomplish this with youth in foster homes is to give them a role in setting modest goals that can be achieved over a short term and to provide recognition as goals are reached.

Authority/responsibility continuums and levels can also be used to organize and formulate the activity content of CDP. Various educational and prevocational modules can be structured with growth steps or can be tied to achievements made within these steps.

To develop and implement the aforementioned structures would require a considerable planning and training effort involving all levels of staff and foster parents in CDP.

Ongoing training sessions will be necessary to iron out difficulties and to help staff and foster parents with continued development of their programs. The assets of informality and diversity should not be sacrificed in this process. These developments would best be viewed as having a goal of identifying and strengthening commonalities and not reducing diversity in styles and view points.

Youth intake and assessment. To make effective use of a

structured authority/responsibility system for its residential settings, CDP also needs an intake assessment that evaluates each youth more formally on the degree to which they can assume behavioral responsibility. Several diagnostic indicators can be obtained on each youth. Assessments of ability to assume behavioral responsibility can be made from past placement history in CDP, from school information, from contacts with other juvenile justice system agencies, and from the natural family. An assessment focusing specifically on the youths' need for external controls vs. ability to assume behavioral responsibility, will increase the appropriateness of placement decisions and help staff focus more on youth needs in these areas.

Staff Interaction. To improve the internal consistency of CDP, there needs to be increased interaction among residential staff. Frequent meetings of all levels of staff should be held around program issues, case conferences, and system concerns. All staff need to have general written and verbal information on each setting in CDP and its expectations, limits and controls, and other characteristics. There should be consensual discussion on problems and tasks that

affect all staff. Internal program development should be a joint planning and training effort.

Weekly meetings for these purposes can be planned for representative staff groupings and monthly meetings for general staff and foster parents would help maintain greater consistency.

External interaction. CDP management must develop a more visible profile with external systems especially courts. Regular information concerning the program and its operation should be disseminated to relevant courts on a monthly basis and monthly meetings between management staff and courts should be held to discuss operational issues. CDP management can work with external agencies to identify common tasks, i.e. consistency of treatment on which courts and CDP can invest joint efforts. The goal of these efforts is to reduce the degree of contradictory and oppositional views and attitudes which youth experience within the system. Informal covert attitudes may not change substantially but their impact on youth will hopefully be reduced or neutralized.

Family orientation. CDP needs to develop a system whereby parents are contacted as soon as possible after youth are

placed in a CDP home. The purpose of these contacts can be to both inform parents about CDP and to obtain information. Placement coordinators should encourage and facilitate contacts between youth and natural families and should manage the interaction between foster parents and natural parents to accomplish regular visits. Casework procedures should include keeping parents informed on a regular basis with regard to their children.

Peer sub-culture. The services of a groupwork consultant within CDP would be most valuable for the purpose of initial and ongoing training with staff in residential group settings. This training would help staff develop skills in building and maintaining peer group sub-cultures.

Separation-individuation, boundaries. CDP can be structured as a separation-individuation process starting at intake and ending with termination and provide an effective context for implementation of previous recommendations and for taking optimal advantage of CDP's existing assets and resources.

While CDP is a short term program, the primary tasks recommended earlier define goals which are most amenable to being achieved within a separation-individuation framework. The existence of distinct intake, placement, and termination

phases already provides major stages through which youth can pass. Further sub-stages can be designed to allow for additional achievement steps. Existing boundaries between stages can be clarified and symbolically marked and other boundaries can be defined. Moving through these stages and crossing boundaries can become a series of modest but meaningful psychosocial achievements for many youth. Even a short separation-individuation experience based on programmatic content designed with well defined authority/responsibility structures, positive relationships, frequent community interaction, creative educational/vocational programming, frequent family contact, and carefully maintained peer sub-cultures can touch significantly upon many issues of adolescent development.

If CDP structured in such a fashion can create an awareness that seemingly critical problems can be constructively addressed, it can meet its most basic goals: to create a sense of youths' ability to become a more autonomous, self controlled individual with a reservoir of untapped skills and abilities that can be used to resolve life problems.

Effects of implementation. If these recommendations were successfully implemented, the services provided would have a

stronger goal orientation and systematized focus. The resultant program can have greater effects than most traditional detention programs are envisioned as having. One pitfall of detention programs in the juvenile justice system has been that they have been regarded as an interim service to the system having little impact on or significance for youth. The theoretical considerations discussed in this paper have supported the notion that the detention experience can have significant impact on youth and that if structured properly, this impact can be psychosocially beneficial and consistent with adolescent developmental needs in Western culture. In addition, developing a clinically focused detention program can give its staff - traditionally the stepchildren of juvenile justice personnel - a stronger sense of prupose, a feeling of accomplishment, and greater participation in the juvenile justice process.

Summary

The purpose of this inquiry has been to isolate from a theoretical perspective, the factors which motivate delinquent behavior and to present a method of incorporating these

factors into delinquency intervention efforts. Delinquency programs can than focus more precisely on the causes of delinquent behavior.

Viewing delinquency as a psychosocial phenomenon, the earlier chapters identify and discuss the internal and external factors which influence adolescent development and behavior. Adolescence was first examined from a cultural perspective in order to understand the impact of Western culture and American society on adolescent development.

The American adolescent stage has been prolonged as a result of historical, social and technological developments. Teenagers are denied adulthood longer than in less developed cultures. Even though they are ready to assume adult functions, young people must remain dependent on their families until they develop the skills and competencies defined by mainstream values as essential for effective functioning in our society. Denied full participation and with few outlets for their energies and developmental anxieties, young peoples' behavior has become less controlled. Cultural and historical developments have diminished the role and effectiveness of families, particularly the families of lower class, immi-

grant, and minority groups. Youthful rebellion and impulsivity can no longer be effectively contained within the family structure. Governmental and social institutions have developed to control and limit teenage behavior.

The factors in adolescent psychosocial development discussed in this paper are separation-individuation and identity formation. Identity formation is the essential component of the adolescent separation-individuation process and in American society plays an important role in adolescence. Because American culture denies the adolescent the elements of an adult identity for a prolonged period, young people must struggle longer with identity issues and rely on transitional identity configurations to structure developmental and culturally induced anxieties. For youth with the cultural skills and accessibility to acceptable mainstream identities this process is bearable. Many adolescents, however, simply cannot contain their oppressed energies in American mainstream identities, or may not have access to such identities. They find more available "counter identity" configurations which are negatively judged by the mainstream culture but are equally as functional in structuring and directing their

adolescent tensions and energies.

A delinquent counter identity choice is as psychosocially functional for a 16 year old car thief as is the acceptable mainstream identity choice of the 16 year old high-school newspaper editor. Both identity choices meet adolescent needs for separateness from adults and family, and for a sense of autonomy, control, and independence. Both identity choices can be credentials for admission to youth peer sub-cultures which provide a sense of normality, belonging, and status.

From an examination of the internal and external factors influencing delinquency a number of psychosocial principles were identified on which delinquency intervention efforts could be based. These included separation-individuation, use of peer sub-cultures, boundary considerations, authority vs. responsibility issues, family, sub-cultural, and community concerns.

Additional intervention principles were derived from an examination of deviance, an historical review of juvenile justice system development, and an analysis of the organization and operation of juvenile justice and its three compo-

nents - police, court, and youth service. A major statement in this analysis is that juvenile justice system operations appear to feed and reinforce counter identity development rather than encourage positive identity development.

Intervention principles derived from the analysis of the juvenile justice system are based on the rationales that delinquency intervention programs must offset the diffusion of authority associated with juvenile justice's uncoordinated operation; must offset the reinforcement of counter identity formation that occurs as a result of the labelling of delinquents and definition of deviant roles. These intervention concerns were integrated into the list of principles derived from developmental considerations. An outline of six intervention principles was produced which can be used in the design and evaluation of delinquency programs.

The design and evaluation outline was then applied to the evaluation of CDP. Once the intervention status of CDP was established, the six intervention principles were used in analyzing the findings made by a DYS Central Evaluation Team. The analysis of findings revealed a number of areas where the CDP could incorporate intervention principles into

its operation. These were discussed, conclusions were drawn and specific recommendations for the design and operation of the program were made including:

1. Revising CDP's primary tasks
2. Structuring the use and programming of residential units in accordance with the separation-individuation process
3. Clarifying existing program boundaries within program stages
4. Having a clear authority/responsibility structure, increasing visibility and interaction of CDP management with other juvenile justice systems
5. Strengthening CDP's family orientation
6. Developing resources for the Hispanic population
7. Developing a groupwork training component to develop skills of residential staff in building and utilizing peer sub-cultures

The overall effect of implementing these recommendations would be to give CDP an intensified and systematic focus designed on sound theoretical psychosocial rationales.

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APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM PROPOSALS

COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM-INTENSIVE SHELTER

I INTRODUCTION

In Region A, as is the case with all other Regions in the State, the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services (DYS) has moved toward the utilization of community service delivery resources for court involved youth, particularly those youth on detention status.

Detention services in Region A are based on three distinct but interrelated models. The youngsters with the least needs for supervision are located in foster homes throughout Western Massachusetts, while the most problematic and the most seriously disturbed youngsters are placed in a centrally located detention center.

Those youngsters who are not severely disturbed but who do clearly need more intense levels of support and supervision than a traditional foster home can provide, are placed in the Community Detention Program which consists primarily of twenty-four hour staffed and supervised, small group foster homes.

Following close examination and evaluation of Region I detention needs over the last year the Center and DYS have

determined that to make CDP a more stable component of the Region A system, some structural and operational modifications need to be implemented. The primary modification involves major restructuring of the Community Detention central intake by changing from a foster care to a group shelter model, necessitating increased staffing but greatly increasing stability of intake and placement operations. Further modifications are discussed below.

II PROPOSAL

Therefore, based on the specific needs for detention services for a yearly average of 15 Massachusetts youth per day as defined by the Region A DYS office and based on the interrelated need for this program to include the availability of a 24 hour, 7 day a week, restructured intake and receiving unit, the Center proposes the continuation and modification of the Community Detention Program.

This program is designed to service an average of fifteen (15) DYS youngsters, but as many as twenty-one (21) youngsters during peak intake periods. Service will be available to youth 24 hours per day, 7 days a week, and is individualized for each youth placed.

The program will also include a number of individual units located in various parts of Massachusetts, programmed to provide both high levels of security and supervision while being responsive to the individual and community needs of each youngster. A heavily staffed and programmed intake unit will provide intake and residential services and will be the central unit in the detention system.

AGENCY IDENTIFICATION

The Center is a non-profit corporation established under Chapter 180 of the General Laws of Massachusetts and Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The goals of the Center are threefold:

1. To design and operate innovative programs in the area of human services.
2. To improve existing human services by:
   - opening communications between the providers of human services and consumers.
   - developing training mechanisms, workshops, seminars, and conferences for staff.
   - providing technical assistance to existing and new programs.

- engaging in research and the publication and distribution of findings and related information in this field.

3. To promote new concepts in the delivery of human services and the improvement of existing human services through public education.

III PROGRAM MODIFICATIONS

POPULATION

The Community Detention Program (CDP) is designed to take youth from ages seven to seventeen. Appropriate settings will be available for males and females of any cultural or ethnic background.

CAPACITY

CDP will accommodate an average of 15 youth but can fluctuate as high as 19 youth on 30 day placements. An additional two youth can be held on a strictly overnight basis for a total maximum capacity of twenty-one. As long as CDP is under its 30 day capacity of 18, it will accept any youth unsuitable for placement at the Secure Detention Center (SDC) or any youth for whom there is not a Region A bed in SDC. If CDP is over its 30 day capacity of 18 beds, it will accept on

overnight basis only, any youth unsuitable for SDC or for whom no Region A beds are available. Once the total capacity of 21 is reached, CDP can accept no further youth except on a day basis in the intake unit when such youth are being placed in a setting other than the Center.

REFERRAL SOURCE

Youth may be placed in CDP by any of the following sources:

1. Any Region A court may place youth detained in lieu of bail or committed to DYS.
2. Dept. of Youth Services, Region A may place youth on committed status.
3. A town or city Police Department may place youth arrested and detained pending arraignment.

INTAKE GUIDELINES

Youth placed in CDP will generally fall into the following legal categories.

1. Court detained delinquent youth held in lieu of bail.
2. Youth newly committed to DYS and awaiting placement.
3. Reception - Relocation youth.

While no youth will be refused on the basis of being in the above categories, it is expected that admission to CDP of youth in the last category will be the result of a careful process of negotiation and selection between CDP and the referring agency.

LENGTH OF STAY

CDP is designed to accommodate youth up to thirty-day periods of time. This time is usually sufficient for most committed or detained youth but in circumstances where an extension is reasonable, an additional 15 day period can be negotiated by the referring agency. In the case of committed youth awaiting placement, multiple 15 day extensions can be granted providing service plans and placement referrals are in process prior to the twenty-fifth day of care. Otherwise, 45 days will be the maximum length of stay for committed youth.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

The structural design of CDP is based on the Center's experience over recent years in developing detention settings that are geared to the individual needs of each youth and to the needs of the juvenile justice system. The wide range of

youth who are detained require a variety of settings designed to meet their needs. A detention setting must also meet the needs of the community for protection and facilities the detention process for referring courts and agencies.

CDP utilizes the multi-modular concept which allows the development of distinct variations on the foster care and shelter model. Based on the Center's experience with the types of youth typically detained, varied settings have been developed to meet the needs of youth. To deal with group oriented youth, the 5 bed small group foster home has been developed. To deal with the specialized needs of smaller groups of youth, a two bed model has been developed. Each of these models is designed for distinct and separate types of youth. Each relies on different programmatic concepts, staffing structure, and behavioral technology. Each model is used in CDP according to the projected number of youth that could benefit from each. The number of the CDP units utilizing these two models is as follows:

1. One five bed small group home
2. Three two bed group homes

These homes will average eleven youth. CDP has in-

creased the number of two bed homes from FY 1977, as this type unit proved to be most effective with detained youth, and increased the flexibility of CDP.

The five bed home and one two bed home will serve more specialized functions in the modified CDP. The five bed home will work exclusively with newly committed and/or relocated reception youth who are the most difficult youth in the system and require the most in terms of behavior management and stabilization. The houseparents in the five bed unit will need an exceptionally high level of skill and experience in dealing with these youth and will carry a significant responsibility.

One of the two bed homes will deal exclusively with young adolescent boys and older, harder to manage girls. Youth in these groups are often emotionally disturbed and require a high level of clinical skill and experience which will require houseparents with significant background in working with this group to enable them to assume the extra responsibility involved.

The intake unit is the central component in the CDP Program structure. It is the first setting that youth are

exposed to and sets the tone for the whole program. It also serves as a backup for all other CDP homes. Modifying the intake unit from a foster care to a group shelter model strengthens its role in CDP and increases the overall stability of CDP. Having a fully staffed unit offering twenty-four hour coverage will allow intake to deal with the most difficult youth in CDP and to accommodate the unpredictable numbers that detention is required to admit.

With in excess of six staff in contrast to the three and a half staff based in the FY '77 intake unit, the new component will greatly strengthen and stabilize CDP's services.

An essential function of the modified intake unit will be to provide a stable location where all detained and committed youth may be received from court, police and DYS. For any reason, any youth can be brought to the intake unit by any of the above personnel 12 months a year and be assured that positive and supportive supervision will be maintained and a youth will be placed into the Region A system in a location that will best meet his or her needs. The intake unit always will be located in the same facility in contrast to the previous intake model utilized by the Center which took

several vacations a year, requiring the intake unit location to be changed during those periods.

The CDP structure for FY 1978 will be a combination of the previously described residential models and the modified intake unit.

UNIT	AVERAGE CAPACITY	MAXIMUM CAPACITY
Intake Unit	4 youth	6 youth
Two-bed home	2 "	3 "
Two-bed home	2 "	3 "
Two-bed home	2 "	3 "
Group Home	5 "	6 "
	TOTAL 15 youth	TOTAL 21 youth

The CDP will, therefore, consist of the five units described above. Average capacity will be fifteen and total capacity will be twenty-one. These units will be staffed to provide maximum support and supervision to detained youth.

The Intake Center:

1. Unit Director
2. Assistant Unit Director
3. Three Child Care Workers
4. 1 Night Counselor
5. 1 Part Time Child Care Worker
6. Consultant

This staffing will fulfill the joint function of this unit. The staff of the 2 bed Residential Units will be:

1. Houseparents

2. Part Time Counselors
3. Consultant

The 5 bed group home units will be staffed as follows:

1. Houseparents
2. Full Time Counselor
3. Part Time Counselor
4. Night Supervision
5. Consultant

The Central CDP staff consists of a Program Director, Program Supervisor, and two placement Coordinators. These staff are responsible for intake and placement services and supervision of CDP units, and general administration. Central staff are involved daily in supporting, monitoring, and supervising CDP units. The intense level of support and supervision provided by the central staff is designed to maximize the units ability to deal with the most youth who can function in residential settings.

IV PROGRAM OPERATION AND DYNAMICS

The pivot point of CDP operations is the intake unit. All youth who are placed in CDP are admitted at the Intake Center. Youth are received by intake staff and go through an intake processing and orientation procedure designed to get a maximum amount of information on the youth and provide the youth with as much positive information as is possible

about the system, the youth's place in the system, and available options. The emphasis at the intake center is to provide each youth with a positive grasp of his/her situation, and to provide the first of a series of humanized positive relationships with CDP staff.

It is at the point of a youth's movement out of the intake center that the rationale for the multi-modular nature of CDP becomes clear. Based on information gathered from intake unit staff and from referral sources, a youth is placed in the CDP unit most appropriate to his/her needs. Youth who cannot deal with the more complicated social dynamics of a group, and who need a more intensive and attentive setting, will be placed in a two bed unit. Youth who do not function well in a more emotionally intensive atmosphere and need the insulation of peer relationships that can be positively directed, would be placed in a group unit or remain at intake. A younger boy and a chronic runaway girl may be placed in a two bed unit where they may be exposed to more delinquent influences. The appeal of the multi-modular model is that it can accomplish the differential placement of youth according to their needs.

While the tone, staff emphasis, and style of each of the CDP units will differ and provide further differentiation among units, the general program expectations and dynamics will be standard.

Programming will be structured around the detention and control needs of youth and on providing positive exposure to recreational, educational, and human relations experiences. Youth will be reintroduced to concepts of individual responsibility and self control but, as the realities of short term care cannot be ignored, the need to hold a youth will be the major consideration in programming.

Within this structure, the emphasis of individual programming will be on providing youth with a stable setting in which, with guidance, youth can begin to identify problem areas in their life situation, and begin to assume more positive control. Where appropriate, and upon request, CDP staff will make a general assessment of a youth's needs for the referring agency.

The daily programming within each home is essential to insure a healthy and positive environment. The needs and inclinations of each youth will be tested at many points in

the house structure and activities and confrontations around these issues will promote individual and communal growth. Standards for house rules, hygiene, nutrition, housemeetings, are common across CDP units and maintenance of these are designed to help individuals living in the program work on interpersonal and intrapersonal problems.

A major part of making a CDP unit work is to have youth as positively and constructively occupied as is possible. A great variety of educational, recreational, and work activities will be provided by regular and volunteer CDP staff to promote the success of each unit.

STAFF BREAKDOWN

The staff of CDP includes the Center's Corporate Services Staff, Program Director, Program Supervisor, Placement Coordinator, Intake Center, 2 bed Houseparents, Houseparents, Residential Counselors, and Night Supervisors.

1. The Center's Corporate Services Staff - Executive and Administrative Bookkeepers, responsible for contract negotiation, personnel, and office management, interagency relations, consistent with the Center's corporate structure payroll, bookkeeping, and records paperflow.

2. Program Director - Responsible for general supervision of program and program supervisor, program design, development, and administration, monitoring of program, maintaining lines of communication with courts and DYS. Developing and coordinating staff training, contract negotiation.

3. Program Supervisor - Responsible for day to day operation of program, supervision of central and residential staff, coordinate daily contacts and relationships between the courts and DYS, maintain open lines of communication between central office and homes, coordinate placement contracts on DYS youths, assist in intake decisions, and placement of youth, assist in court appearances of youth, provide direct supervision and support to two CDP units, coordinating, consulting, and training services.

4. Placement Coordinators - Responsible for intake and screening of all youth, assisting with intake and receiving, orientation of youth, transportation of youth to CDP homes, direct support and supervision of CDP homes, coordination of consultant services, assist with court appearances of youth.

5. Intake Unit Head - Supervise and monitor overall operation of intake unit. Recruit and hire staff, arrange

work schedules, insure all aspects of unit operation takes place, receive and orient all incoming youth, supervise youth, complete all intake materials, counsel and prepare youth for detention placement, provide educational, recreational programming, supervise daily living activities of youth and unit operation.

6. Intake Unit Assis. Head - Assist unit head, receive and orient all incoming youth, supervise youth, complete all intake materials, counsel and prepare youth for detention placement, provide educational, recreational programming, supervise daily living activities of youth and unit operation.

7. Intake Child Care Workers - Receive and orient all incoming youth, supervise youth, complete all intake materials, counsel and prepare youth for detention placement, provide educational, recreational programming, supervise daily living activities of youth and unit operation.

8. Houseparents - Five-bed, two-bed - Responsible for day to day operation of home, including housecleaning, shopping and meals, to setting the norms of activities in the house. Responsibilities also include coordinating and individualizing daily program for each child to insure maximum support and supervision. Maintain contact with referring

agencies, transport youth to court appearances and legal appointments, monitor and support youth during court appearances, maintain open lines of communication with central staff and supervise residential counselors.

9. Residential Counselors - Assist and provide relief to houseparents in fulfillment of their duties. Provide direct support and supervision to youth, develop recreational and educational activities, provide counsel and support to youth.

10. Secretary - Responsible for maintaining files and case records, paper flow communication to referring agencies, admission records, statistics, and office management.

11. Night Supervisors - Responsible for supervising youth during sleeping hours from 12:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M. Doing bed checks, providing support to youth, maintaining order of home, handling any problems that arise at night.

V FINANCES

The operation of the Community Detention Program will be based on a yearly budget of $317,698.00....An 80 percent utilization factor will be in effect. Billing will be submitted monthly.

COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM

*	Average Number of Youth to be Served	15 youth
*	Maximum capacity during Peak Intake	21 youth
*	Will accept all Overnight Arrests	

PROGRAM COST BREAKDOWN

A.	CENTRAL SUPERVISORY STAFF	
	PROGRAM DIRECTOR - 60% x $17,000	10,200
	PROGRAM SUPERVISOR - 80% x $12,500	10,000
	PLACEMENT COORDINATOR - Two at $10,000 each	20,000
	PROGRAM SECRETARY - 100% x 7800	7,800
	FRINGE - 16% x 48,000	7,680
	OFFICE COST	9,312
	HOMEFINDING - GENERAL SERVICES	833
	TRAVEL - 2,000 mi/mo x 12 cents/mi	2,880
	HOME TELEPHONE	500
	EMPLOYMENT ADVERTISING	500
	SUB-TOTAL	69,705

B. REGION A CENTRAL INTAKE

* Will receive all Mass. Youth

* Fully staffed, stable location available 24 hours per day, 7 days a week

* Will include program and staff capacity to hold four to six youth including overnight arrests

UNIT HEAD	9,500
ASS'T. UNIT HEAD	9,000
CHILD CARE WORKERS - 3 at 8,500 each	25,500
CHILD CARE WORKER - Part Time 24 hrs/wk x $2.70/hour	3,370
NIGHT SUPERVISOR - 56 hrs/wk at $2.70/hr	7,862
VACATION RELIEF	1,875
FRINGE - 16% x $57,107	9,137
YOUTH ALLOWANCE - $5/wk x 4 youth x 52 wks.	1,040
YOUTH BOARD - $17.50/wk x 4 youth x 52 wks	3,640
RECREATION - $10/wk x 4 youth x 52 wks	2,080
YOUTH LUNCHES - INTAKE ONLY - $5/day x 5 da/wk x 52 wks	1,300
STAFF BOARD - $30/wk x 52 wks	1,560
SUPPLIES & MAINTENANCE - $150/mo x 12 mos	1,800
FACILITY COST	5,000
TRAVEL - 1000 mi/mo x 12 cents/mi	1,440
CONSULTANT - $100/mo x 12 mos	1,200
SUB-TOTAL	85,304

C. FIVE-BED GROUP FOSTER HOME

HOUSEPARENTS	10,000
COUNSELOR-FULL TIME	7,800
COUNSELOR - PART TIME - $67.50/wk x 52 wks	3,500
NIGHT COUNSELOR - $56 hrs/wk x $2.70 hr. x 52 wks	7,862
FRINGE - 16% x 29,162	4,666
YOUTH PROGRAM COST - $35 wk x 5 youth x 52 wks	9,100
YOUTH ALLOWANCE - $5 wk x 5 youth x 52 wks	1,300
FIXED HOME COST - $583.33/mo x 12 mos	7,000
STAFF BOARD - $15/wk x 3 staff x 52 wks	2,340
CONSULTANTS - $150/mo	1,800
TRAVEL - 850 mi/mo x 12 cents/mi x 12 mos	1,224
SUB-TOTAL	56,592

D. TWO-BED FOSTER HOME - SPECIALIZED

HOUSEPARENTS	9,000
COUNSELOR PART TIME - $67.50 wk	3,500
FRINGE - 16% x 12,500	2,000
YOUTH PROGRAM COST - $35/wk x 2 youth x 52 wks	3,640
YOUTH ALLOWANCE - $5/wk x 2 youth x 52 wks	520
HOME COST - $200/mo x 12 mos	2,400
STAFF BOARD - $15/wk x 2 staff x 52 wks	1,560

CONSULTANT - $100/mo x 12 mos	1,200
TRAVEL - $500/mi/mo x 12 cents/mi x 12 mos	720
SUB-TOTAL	24,540

E. TWO-BED FOSTER HOME

HOUSEPARENTS	8,000
COUNSELOR - PART TIME - $67.50 x 2 wks	3,500
FRINGE - 16% x $11,500	1,840
YOUTH PROGRAM COST - $35 x 2 youth x 52 wks	3,640
YOUTH ALLOWANCE COST - $5 x 2 youth x 52 wks	520
HOME COST - $200/mo x 12 mos	2,400
STAFF BOARD - $15/wk x 2 staff x 52 wks	1,560
CONSULTANT - $100/mo x 12 mos	1,200
TRAVEL - 500 mi/mo x 12 cents/mi x 12 mos	720
SUB-TOTAL 1 UNIT	23,380
SUB-TOTAL 2 UNITS	46,760

F. TOTAL PROGRAM COST

CENTRAL SUPERVISORY STAFF SUB-TOTAL	69,705
CENTRAL INTAKE SUB-TOTAL	85,304
FIVE-BED HOME SUB-TOTAL	56,592
TWO-BED HOME SPECIALIZED SUB-TOTAL	24,540
TWO-BED HOMES SUB-TOTAL	46,760
CORPORATE COST 12.3% x 282,901	34,797
TOTAL PROGRAM COST	$317,698

COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM - FOSTER CARE

I INTRODUCTION

AS part of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services commitment to deinstitutionalizing, the vast majority of youth who are being detained by courts are being kept out of detention centers and are being placed in various types of community based settings.

Over the past three years, the Center has supported the Region A Department of Youth Services efforts in developing a number of programmatic options. Among the options previously used were the Community Detention Program - Foster Care (CDPFC) which is a 17 bed foster care program utilizing foster homes from a pool of 30 or more carefully screened and trained families.

In Fiscal 1978, detention of all CHINS youth will become the responsibility of the Department of Public Welfare. After evaluation of available statistics on Utilization of CDPFC for detention of CHINS youth, Region A and the Center have determined that a decrease in the number of CDPFC foster home beds for detention youth is warranted. An average of nine (9) youth per day are in the CHINS category, therefore, CDPFC will drop from its F.Y. '77 average capacity of seventeen to a pro-

posed F.Y. '78 average capacity of eight (8). This decrease will also result in other program modifications which are discussed herein.

II PROPOSAL

Therefore, based on Region A Department of Youth Services documentation and request for eight (8) region wide foster detention homes which would also expand as high as fourteen (14) during peak intake periods, (as long as the yearly average of 8 youth per day is maintained)

The Center proposes the modification of the Community Detention Foster Care Program.

III AGENCY IDENTIFICATION

The Center is a non-profit corporation established under Chapter 180 of the General Laws of Massachusetts, SEction 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The goals of the Center defined in the by-laws are threefold:

1. To design and operate innovative programs in the area of human services.
2. To help improve existing human services by:
   - opening communications between the providers of human services (agencies) and the recipients of

human services (consumers).

- developing training mechanisms, workshops, seminars, and conferences for staff.
- providing technical assistance to existing and new programs.
- engaging in research and the publication and distribution of any related information in this field.

3. To promote new concepts in the delivery of human services and improvement of existing human services through public education.

IV PROGRAMMATIC OVERVIEW

CDPFC will take 8 youth referred by Region A courts and the Department of Youth Services. Youth can be referred on a 24 hour basis and will be placed in foster homes at any hour of the day or night.

A. POPULATION

CDPFC is designed for youth from age 7-17. Because a large number and variety of foster homes are available to the Center, any youth referred will be placed in a home most appropriate to their needs regardless of age, sex, and cultural or ethnic background.

The CDPFC is designed for youth involved in the juvenile justice system and will accept for placement any youth charged with a delinquent offense.

CDPFC will make a determination as to whether referred youth in the following categories are appropriate for foster care and may not accept them for placement.

1. Any DYS committed youth awaiting placement or relocation.
2. Any court referred youth charged with a delinquent offense and held in lieu of bail.
3. Any court referred youth bound over to a Superior Court on adult charges.

CDPFC will accept youth according to the above guidelines except when 8 or more youth are in foster care. At that point, only youth for whom an appropriate foster home is available will be accepted.

B. LENGTH OF STAY

CDPFC will provide short term foster care for anywhere from overnight to 30 days. Because there are often legitimate delays in the juvenile justice system process, CDPFC can extend its care in rare instances up to a maximum of

forty-five days. Most youth will be in CDPFC for no more than three weeks.

V PROGRAM OPERATION

A. REFERRALS

Referral of any youth to CDPFC can be made by calling the Center's office requesting a foster placement. A CDPFC worker will arrange to pick up or meet the referred youth and place the youth in foster care. If a determination as to the appropriateness of the youth needs to be made according to previously discussed intake guidelines, the worker will request further information or will make immediate arrangements to interview the youth. The intake requirements for youth who are to be placed in CDPFC are:

1. Face sheet
2. A signed release by parent or guardian authorizing medical treatment and assuming responsibility for medical bills.
3. Information on the youth's family situation, behavioral history, school status, medical history and any other relevant data.

B. FOSTER CARE

A youth in a CDPFC foster home is a member of that fam-

ily and the family assumes responsibility for that youth during the short term placement period. The foster family will provide the intensive support which a youth in crisis requires and will act as the youth's liaison to and advocate with the community.

Positive and humane care which these youth require will be provided along with firm guidance and supportive behavioral limits. CDPFC families will accompany youth to court appearances, appointments, and interviews. Whenever possible, youth will attend their own school or a school in the foster family's community. Family oriented recreational opportunities and activities will be an integral aspect of care for the youth.

The owrker assigned to the foster home will make weekly supportive visits to the foster home, will be available on a 24 hour basis for crisis or emergencies, will assist the foster family in negotiating the juvenile justice system, and will manage any problems developing between the natural family and the foster family. The worker's role will be to focus on the needs of the foster family and provide them with whatever backup services are necessary to meet the needs of the youth in CDPFC care.

The care of youth involved in the juvenile justice system at the detention level requires a highly supportive and disciplined matrix of human relationships into which youth can be placed for short periods of time. The Center has found no resource to be superior to a highly skilled, positive, well trained foster family in providing the supportive and positive care which detention youth need.

C. TERMINATION OF YOUTH

Youth in the care of a CDPFC foster family will be terminated from care as a result of a court decision to return a youth or to go to another more permanent placement. Because the termination date usually coincides with a planned court appearance, the foster family will have the opportunity to deal most supportively with the issue of the youth leaving the home. The foster family can coordinate the youth leaving the home with the court, natural family, or a prospective long term placement to assure a smooth transition.

CDPFC plans to retain all youth placed with foster families. Because there are a variety of foster families available, youth who need to be removed from one home where their needs cannot be met, can often be placed with a more appropriate family. In rare instances, it may be necessary to

remove a youth from CDPFC entirely to another Detention resource.

D. FOSTER FAMILY, RECRUITMENT, TRAINING & SUPPORT

The core resource for all Center foster care programs is the qualified well trained professional foster home. The Center has developed a sophisticated foster family screening and selection unit which approves less than 7 per cent of those families who express interest in being foster parents. Having continually developed and refined the Homefinding unit over the past three years, the Center anticipates being able to provide twenty-five or more CDPFC foster families to provide quality supportive care for detention youth.

The key to providing and maintaining a ready pool of foster families rests in regular ongoing support and training. CDPFC workers will provide whatever backup and support services that are needed by foster families whenever these services are needed. Ongoing training and support groups for CDPFC foster families will be held monthly to develop child care skills and knowledge and to reinforce the team responsibility and accountability of all CDPFC staff, whether they are workers or foster parents.

VI BREAKDOWN

The staff of the CDPFC will consist of a Program Director, Program Supervisor, Full Time Caseworker, Program Secretary, Corporate Services Staff, and Foster Home Staff.

A. PROGRAM DIRECTOR - Responsible for agency relations, interaction with courts, DYS, and other referral sources, contract negotiations overall program supervision, community relations, program evaluation and development and intra-agency coordination.

B. PROGRAM SUPERVISOR - Responsible for operation of the program, supervision, and training of staff, designing referral and intake systems, daily interaction with referring and funding sources, consultant services. Assist in foster homefinding and training needs, run CDPFC support and training groups, maintaining consistent and high quality internal operations.

C. FULL TIME PLACEMENT WORKER - Caseworkers are responsible for providing direct support services to foster families and youth, being on 24 hour call, completing intake work on referred youth, placing youth in foster homes, making weekly support visits to foster homes, recruitment and train-

ing of foster families, doing home studies on new foster families, assisting foster families in court negotiations, coordination of legal and court issues, writing progress reports and discharge summaries.

D. FOSTER FAMILIES - are responsible for the 24 hour care and supervision of youth placed in their homes, for meeting the health, educational, and recreational needs of foster children in their homes, for accompanying youth to court appearances and appointments, and insuring a positive and supportive environment for each youth.

E. CORPORATE SERVICES - are responsible for all bookkeeping billing and payments, maintaining financial records up to date in accordance with IRS and Rate Setting Regulations, general administration, office management, contract negotiations, personnel management and policy, contractual compliance, budgetary monitoring.

G. SECRETARY - responsible for all typing of program records and summaries, admission and termination records, filing, paperflow, and program office operation.

VII FINANCES

The operation of the CDPFC will be based on a yearly budget of $60,401.00.... An 80 percent utilization factor

will be in effect. Billing for services will take place monthly.

COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM - FOSTER CARE

* Average number of youth to be served	8
* Maximum capacity during peak periods	14

PROGRAM COST

PROGRAM DIRECTOR - 28% x 17,000	4,760
PROGRAM SUPERVISOR - 20% x 12,500	2,500
PLACEMENT CASEWORKER - 100% x 10,500	10,500
SECRETARY - 33.3% x 7,500	2,498
FRINGE - 15% x 20,258	3,241
HOMEFINDING GENERAL SERVICES	833
RECRUITMENT & TRAINING	8,569
CONSULTANT - $67/mo x 12 mos	800
TRAVEL - 1000 mi/mo x 12 cents/mi	1,440
OFFICE	1,640
ROOM AND BOARD - 8 x $35 x 52 wks	14,560
YOUTH ALLOWANCE - 8 x $5 x 52 wks	2,080
HOME TELEPHONE	250
EMPLOYMENT ADVERTISING	150
CORPORATE COST - 12.3%	6,616
TOTAL PROGRAM COST	$60,401

APPENDIX B

CENTRAL EVALUATION TEAM PROCEDURES AND COMMUNITY DETENTION PROGRAM EVALUATION REPORT

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

The following report is based on data collected through interviews with administrative, supervisory and direct-service staff, detention residents, Region A DYS staff, the city Juvenile Court Judge, and two Assistant Chief Probation Officers of the city Juvenile Court. An examination of records was conducted including: Detention intake files, foster parent files for the Community Detention Program (CDP) and clinical consultant reports on the Intake facility and the CDP foster homes. Site visits were made to the Intake facility and three of the four CDP homes (one set of CDP foster parents were on vacation and the youths replaced in the other homes). During the site visits, all available foster parents and other staff were interviewed, as were all youths in placement. Systematic observations were made at each facility of staff-staff, staff-client, and client-client interaction during routine daily activities. A facility review was conducted at each site, including a review of housing, medical and nutritional issues. In addition to the CDP site visits, similar visits were made to three of the Community Detention Program Foster Care foster homes. The decision to visit the three CDPFC homes (out of the eight functioning CDPFC homes) was made on the basis of a stratified random sample, blocked on time with the agency and number of youth placed during that time. One of the homes drawn in the original sample was unavailable; a matched replacement was chosen by the CDPFC Program Director.

The following evaluation report includes a description of all major components of the Community Detention Program, as well as a brief review of the CDPFC homes. The Evaluation Team (ET) has included evaluation comments and recommendations at the end of each component description. Evaluative comments assess each component's effectiveness from the perspective of both systemic and intra-programmatic goal-oriented analysis, with regard to evaluation guidelines, program proposal and contract stipulations and extant DYS policy. The reader will note that it is the program's right to provide the Director of Evaluation at DYS with a written rebuttal of any serious factual omissions or misconstruals which may or may not be contained herein.

During the period of on-site evaluation, May 15 through May 19, 1978, and on May 24 when the ET returned to interview the Clinical Director of the Center, program staff at all levels and detention residents were very cooperative. The ET felt that the program staff were very helpful in arranging interviews, providing the team with statistics and records and allowing the team to conduct observations. This cooperation was greatly appreciated.

TIME IN PROGRAM

(Includes: team-hours on site, in community and regional research.)

Monday, May 15, 1978
2:30 P.M. - 5:30 P.M. x 2 ET = 6.0 hrs.
7:30 P.M. -10:00 P.M. x 3 ET = 7.5 hrs.

Tuesday, May 16, 1978
11:00 A.M. - 8:00 P.M. x 3 ET = 27.0 hrs.

Wednesday, May 17, 1978
10:00 A.M. - 6:30 P.M. x 3 ET = 25.5 hrs.

Thursday, May 18, 1978
10:30 A.M. - 5:30 P.M. x 3 ET = 21.0 hrs.

Friday, May 19, 1978
9:15 A.M. - 4:30 P.M. x 3 ET = 21.75 hrs.

Wednesday, May 24, 1978
1:30 P.M. - 4:00 P.M. x 3 ET = 7.5 hrs.

TOTAL TIME IN PROGRAM: 116.25 hrs.

FACILITY

The corporate offices of the Center are located in Mass. The Center occupies a two-story building in which administrative offices for all programs are housed. In addition to CDP and other staff office space, the building is regularly used for staff training sessions, business and supervision meetings, with limited conference-room space being available for those purposes.

The ET conducted site visits to the Intake/Relocation Unit, three of the four CDP Units and three of the CDPFC foster homes. Brief descriptions of the facilities visited appear below, with the ET's concerns and recommendations following each description.

Intake/Relocation Unit (IRU)

The IRU is a five bed capacity unit with one additional bed for occasional and strictly overnight use. It is the reception center for all incoming detainees. The building is a two-story duplex with a finished basement, and is located in a middle-class residential area, approximately ten minutes travel distance by car from the Center offices. The building appeared well-cared for inside and out, and security is upheld by maintaining windows and doors locked and reasonably well supervised by staff at all times. One half of the duplex is used primarily for intake interviewing and temporary holding purposes, with upstairs living quarters for one resident staffperson, and one bedroom (with one bed and one unframed mattress) for female residents. The other half of the duplex contains male resident sleeping quarters (two bedrooms with two bed and two bureaus each), a kitchen and living room area. The house has a comfortable homelike atmosphere, regardless of the transient milieu, and contains adequate and comfortable furniture, as well as adequate cooking and refrigreation appliances and dining space.

As reported by staff and residents, and observed by the ET, detainees spend most of their waking hours in the basement recreation area. This area contains two large tables, chairs, a TV, radio, and an assortment of table games and arts and crafts supplies.

IRU Evaluative

Given the high level of client flow through this unit, the ET was impressed with the generally good quality of facility cleanliness and upkeep. The ET had concerns about several areas of facility-related issues and offers the following recommendations:

F1: The handrailing on the basement stairwell was loosely nailed board which appeared hazardous; this should be replaced by a standard safety handrail.

F2: Both the upstairs (kitchen) and recreation room garbage cans were uncovered at the time of evaluation. In view of the Unit Director's report that there is a rodent problem in the facility, this practice seems negligent and should be remedied.

F3: The ET was concerned that there is no nurse attached to the facility, either by contract or by arrangement with a local traveling nurse association. Also, only the Unit Director, whose daily time on-site is limited, has had accredited first aid training. At least one staff person on each shift should have para-professional first aid training. Further, none of the staff appeared well versed in current street-drug knowledge; steps should be taken to educate staff to such issues. Finally, a fully supplied first aid medical kit should be available on-site, and all staff should be instructed in the basics of its use.

F4: The ET was concerned with the quality of daily food services to detainees. It was reported, and observed, that the usual diet at IRU consists mainly of canned foods, starchy foods, (Spaghetti, etc.) and fast food purchased off-premises (i.e. hamburgers, pizza, etc.). The ET strongly recommends that the agency hire a qualified nutritionist (or engage a graduate level student as a practicum placement) to review and establish high quality nutrition plans for all existing Units, but especially for the IRU.

F5: The ET was concerned that two of the sleeping mattresses at the IRU apparently had been urine-stained as a result of not having been covered with protective rubberized mattress covers. Since a significant number of younger detainees have nocturnal eneuretic problems, a strict policy of using protective covers should be enforced by staff. Soiled mattresses should be replaced. (This recommendation may be deleted from the public version of the report, following acknowledgement by the Agency at the feedback meeting.

CDP Units (Overview)

Two of the three CDP foster home units reviewed will not be operational at the time this evaluation report becomes a public document. In general, all homes were located in middle-class residential areas, were not overtly identifiable as detention residences, were well-maintained, sanitary, well furnished and homelike.

Facility security measures at each of the CDP homes visited were reasonably adequate. Electronically wired windows and doors provide staff with immediate warning of nocturnal escapecape attempts. Daytime staff supervision of youths appeared sufficiently preventative of escape attempts. However, at the facility, although electronic surveilance was installed, the houseparents stated that the system was not plugged in since a high level of staff coverage obviated its necessity. This practice appeared questionable to the ET, both from the perspective that it is an unobtrusively effective precautionary measure and, therefore, desirable, and that its disuse is wasteful of funds appropriated for purchase and installation of the system.

There were no outstanding problems noted by the ET at any of the homes with regard to nutritional, sanitary, or most facility issues. With regard to the selection and maintenance of detention homes, the Agency is to be wholeheartedly commended. All facilities were, with respect to appearance and comfort, consonant with the Department's philosophy of community based treatment.

Three areas of serious concern noted by the ET:

A. a possible issue of sex discrimination in sleeping accommodations at one of the units.
B. the issue of electronic security measures at the 5-bed Unit, and
C. the issue of first aid training of staff at all units.

The following recommendations address these i-sues.

F6: At the 2-bed home, male detainees had sleeping quarters on the first floor with framed boxspring mattresses in their bedrooms, while the female detainees' bedroom was in the basement next to the furnace room and had only single-layer unframed mattresses on the floor. Such a discrepancy in sleeping accommodations could be argued to be a violation of the 14th Amendment rights of female detainees. Although this unit will not be operational at the time this document becomes public, the ET recommends that the Agency take steps to insure that accommodations in all future units are equal for females and males.

F7: The Agency should review first aid and medical issues discussed above in recommendation F3, and take appropriate action for all units. This applies also to CDPFC homes.

F8: All CDP units having electronic security systems should use such systems regularly, regardless of staff coverage. Disuse would seem both imprudent and wasteful of allocated funds.

CDPFC Homes (Overview)

As with other units, all three CDPFC foster homes were residentially located, well-maintained buildings; with two providing detention care for 1-2 youths and the third having 2-3 bed maximum capacity. Security measures for CDPFC units do not include electronic exit monitors. Nutritional needs of detainees appeared well met, according to interviews with youths.

With the exception of the home, sleeping accommodations and personal space appeared adequate. In that 2-3 bed home, three DYS detainees were quartered in the basement of the house in two small partitioned bedrooms. According to youths' reports, they were required to remain in the basement area for almost the entire day and evening for the duration of their stay. They reportedly were restricted to eating all meals in a basement "recreation" room which had only one bare lightbulb and few furnishings. They were allegedly allowed upstairs to the main house to watch TV for a small part of each evening. No planned activities, educational or table games, regular outdoor recreation (except for being taken outside by a caseworker), or organized exercise activity was observed or reported. One room had a working radio. Youths also alleged that they regularly had to share their (small) bedrooms with other youths, who were either welfare clients or house boarders. The houseparent acknowledged that the living situation was cramped, and stated that CDP and other agencies consistently refer residents in excess of comfortable capacity.

The only serious concern that the ET noted during the CDPFC facility review was the overcrowding of the 2-3 bed home. It is the responsibility of the Agency to exercise prudence in utilizing any foster care home, so that overcrowding, under staffing and resultant custodial management is avoided. Under such conditions, it could be argued that:

A. youths placed in such a facility are not receiving equal care as are youths placed elsewhere within the same agency;
B. the rights of detainees under the DYS Detention Manual, Youths' Bill of Rights are not entirely being met; and
C. the implicit rights of detainees with respect to O.F.C. and local housing regulations are not being met. The Agency should be held responsible to prevent the recurrence of any such situation.

ADMINISTRATION & STAFF

The Administration & Staff component was evaluated against program-stipulated staffing patterns and role responsibilities. Therefore, the descriptive section of this component will be minimized, and the reader is referred to the Center contract proposal for FY '77 for further elaboration. The following

critical areas of this component were reviewed: organizational structure, staff duties and responsibilities, staff composition, staff coverage, staff time commitment, staff supervision, staff training and staff communication.

Organizational STructure: staff duties and responsibilities

Table A&S 1 presents an organizational overview of corporate CDP/CDPFC staff as presented to the ET by the program. Through staff interviews, the ET found that actual job duties and responsibilities were consonant with job descriptions outlined in the CDP proposal. Role responsibilities amond CDP staff appeared to be well defined and acknowledged; the sole exception being the Bonneyview Unit Staff job descriptions which were horizontally defined with all staff sharing essentially the same responsibilities.

As stipulated in the program contract, the Et found that the CDP Program Supervisor was the chief administrator of CDP operations with regard to amount of time-on-contract for direct CDP projects. The Program Supervisor described her duties as "supervising all activities of CDP, monitoring intake and placement, hiring, firing and training of unit staff, maintenance of DYS and community relationships and program design and development".

As shown in table A&S 1, two of the three Placement Supervisors have responsibility for CDP, and the other functions as a DYAP staff person. The job title of the 3rd Placement Supervisor is listed in the CDP contract as "Full Time Placement Worker", however, the job description and functions remain the same as the other Placement Supervisors.

With respect to the Intake Unit, the Et found role responsibilities and duties to be somewhat diffused. As stated in the program proposal, all intake unit staff are essentially required to perform the same functions. As stated by one Intake Unit Child Care Worker "everybody does everything here". In the absence of the Unit Director, there are no clear cut lines of responsibility, nor are there any staff whose background, training or job description sets them apart as supervisors or specialists.

Staff Composition

Table A&S 2 provides profiles of the CDP staff, based on interviews and resume-type materials forwarded by the program (see Table A&S 2, following page).

Staff Coverage

With regard to Corporate Center staff, all are full time employees (see Table A&S 1). All CDP units reviewed by the ET has either one of the two houseparents on duty at all times and approximately twice per week, student volunteers and occasionally consultants (see Coinical SEction, p. 240) were utilized to provide relief for foster parents for periods of approximately two-three hours each. The most cost-effective unit in the CDP, in terms of the intensity of staff coverage vs. cost, was the five bed unit. During the academic year, the houseparents made excellent use of volunteer and graduate level practicum students from surrounding colleges. Volunteer recruitment, selection, training and supervision appeared to be very well organized. These efforts have resulted in approximately five times the staff coverage as other CDP units at roughly the same cost, adjusted for the larger bed capacity of the unit.

The ET examined the staffing patterns of the Intake Unit over a two week period. The results are found in Table A&S 3. The ET was informed that during the Fall, Winter and Spring months the services of two student volunteers are utilized on a rotating ten week basis for fifteen hours per week, four days a week, totaling thirty hours per week.

Staff Time Commitment

The CDP Executive Director was unable to stipulate the actual amount of time he allocated to CDP. He stated that his time allocation fluctuates in direct proportion to the amount of "controversy" a program is experiencing. At present, he stated that 40-50% of his time is absorbed in issues surrounding CDPFC as this component is experiencing programmatic difficulties.

The Program Director stated that he allocated 60-65% of his time on contract to CDP detention and welfare contracts (broken down at approximately 30% each). This stands in contrast to the program's proposed 60% time allocation of the Program Director to CDP, specifically.

The CDP Program Supervisor stated that she spent approximately 85% of her time on contract involved in administrative duties; the remaining 15% spent on community (i.e. court) and DYS relationships. She has minimal direct contact with program youths.

The two CDP Placement Supervisors each stated that they spent 15-20% of their time in direct service to program youths (transportation, support via phone calls, home visits and assisting with court appearances of youth). The bulk of their time is spent administratively re: "assuring that things are running smoothly" between youth/foster home/corporate relations.

The Intake Unit Head, (see Table A&S 2) spends mornings and afternoons at the Unit. He reported that he also holds another full time job as a city fireman on the evening shift.

Supervision

The ET found that the lines of supervision among CDP corporate staff were clear and distinct. However, the ET found no procedures for recording supervisory sessions, therefore, leaving administrative staff no basis for periodic review of supervisory issues.

Lines of supervision appeared unclear among the Intake Unit Staff. A recent report, written by the Consultant Psychologist to that Unit, pointed out that greater clarity was needed in the delegation of responsibility and leadership styles.

All CDP foster parents interviewed reported that they were satisfied with the quality and frequency of the supervisory services they received from their assigned placement coordinators. Contact between placement coordinators and foster parents is made one-to-two times per week in person and by phone daily.

Intake Unit staff, with particular reference to volunteers (see Daily Schedule, Clinical sections for elaboration) appeared to the Et to be less aware of lines of supervision. This, in part, is likely to be due to the undifferentiated nature of the proposed job descriptions.

Training

The content and quality of training provided to the unit-level staff varied from home to home and was found to be essentially procedural in nature. The majority of CDP foster parents interviewed stated that the training offered to them by the Detention Supervisor covered a broad range of issues in a short period of time. Although the content of their training was considered relevant, most foster parents expressed the desire to have their training interspersed between periods of "on-the-job" experience. All foster parents interviewed additionally expressed a desire for more knowledge in the areas of drug/medical emergency practices.

The placement coordinator for the Intake Unit stated that the unit staff "could use more training in formal counseling", and also expressed concern that the unit staff (with the exception of the Director) had no formal first-aid training. In-depth training is available from program-hired consultants. The use of consultants is detailed in the Clinical section of this report.

Staff Communication

Through interviews and observation, the ET found the lines of communication among corporate-level Center staff to be excellent.

Staff meetings for CDP foster parents and unit staff are reportedly held on a monthly basis at the Center offices. Meetings are attended by representative houseparents and staff on a rotating basis and are held to discuss agency changes, general business and detention management issues, and specific case difficulties. Staff meetings for CDPFC foster parents follow the same format as for the CDP.

Although the Unit Director and selected representative staff from the Intake Unit attend the Agency level and CDP meetings, the Unit Director reported that there are no formal, regularly scheduled staff meetings in the Unit. Staff communication at Intake Unit is primarily facilitated by means of a staff log for both day and night shift entries, and through weekly or biweekly staff sessions with a consulting psychologist (incepted March, 1978) for training and organizational development-type technical assistance.

Evaluative

In general, the ET found the Center programs to be very well administered. Corporate Level staff backgrounds, training and communications mechanisms, and resultant efficiency were exemplary. The ET's concerns over need for improvement lie in two main areas: a. role definition and specialization of training among Intake Unit staff and volunteers, and b. staff-perceived relevancy and quality of groups facilitation of CDP monthly staff meetings. The following recommendations address these concerns:

A&S 1: The Intake Unit differentiate and define in writing all job specifications. The Unit designates at least one individual as an Intake Specialist, and one individual on each shift as a Crisis Counselor Specialist. The Unit adjusts its training and/or hiring practices to meet the needs of staff specialization.

A&S 2: The Intake Unit initiates regularly schedules weekly staff meetings to cover both relevant business and case-related issues. The staff log procedures be more closely reviewed and relevant entries made by each shift, daily. As reviewed by the ET, the staff log was missing numerous entries and, in places, entries appeared somewhat irrelevant to detention issues.

A&S 3: The original foster parent and unit staff training period be expanded to, at minimum, a week long series of workshops with periodic performance reviews and on-going training, as needed (see Clinical section for further discussion).

A&S 4: The Agency re-assess the facilitation and content relevancy of CDP foster parent and staff meetings. In interviews with the ET, several staff stated that foster parent meetings are "not as effective as they could be", and that often "...people come to them and pretend that there are no problems".

TABLE A&S 1: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CDP STAFF AS PRESENTED BY CDP PROGRAM SUPERVISOR

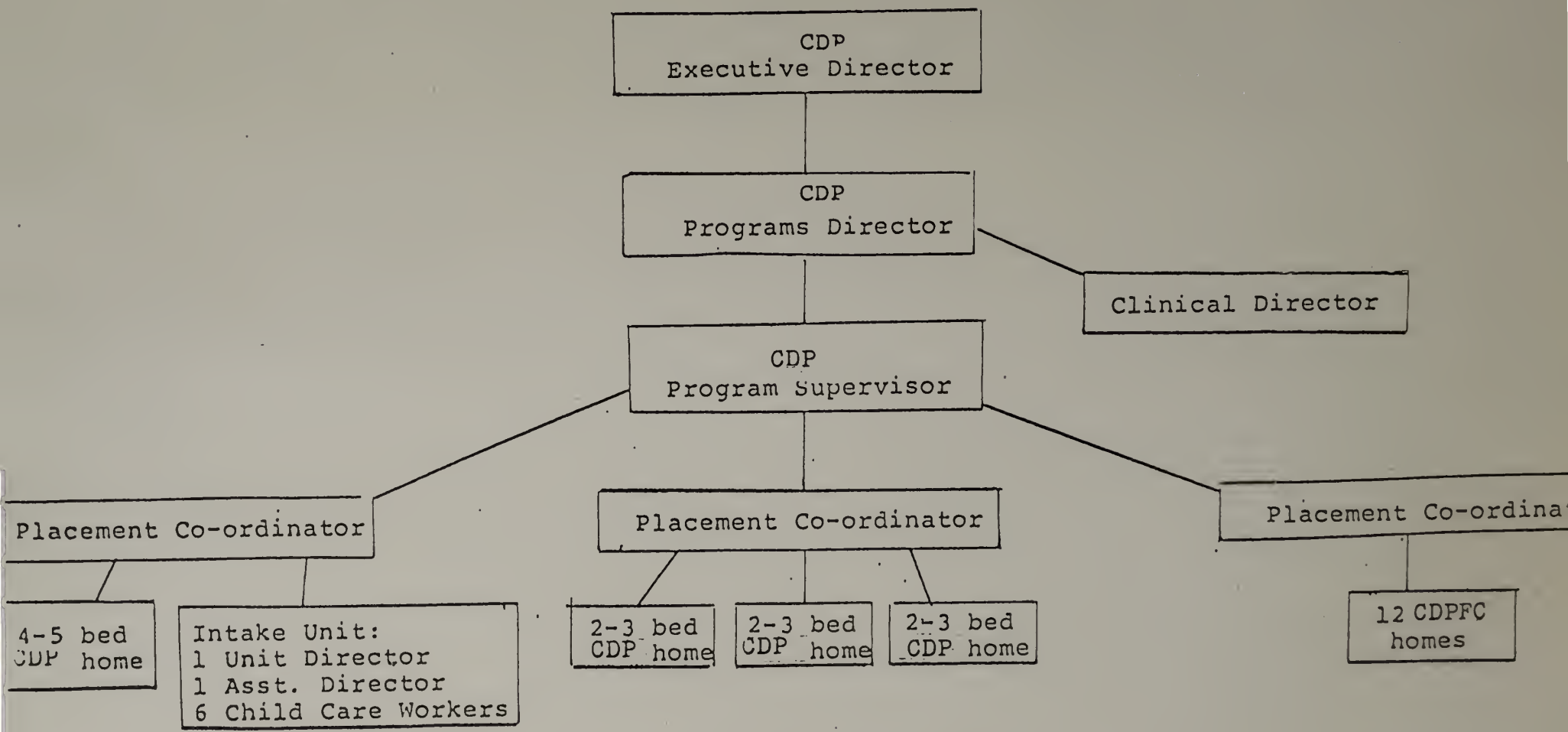

TABLE A&S 3

Intake Unit Weekly Staffing Pattern

	M	T	W	TH	F	S	Sun
A.M.	1 Child Care Worker	SAME AS MONDAY	SAME AS MONDAY	SAME AS MONDAY	SAME AS MONDAY	1 Child Care Worker	1 Child Care Worker
	2 Child Care Workers						
P.M.	Intake Unit Director 1 Child Care Worker	Intake Unit Assistant Director				1 Child Care Worker	1 Child Care Worker

STAFF CATEGORY	AVG. AGE	AVG. PROGRAM TENURE	EDUCATIONAL TRAINING LEVEL H.S.	B.A./B.S.	M.A./M.S./MEd	PhD	AVG. YEARS RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE
ADMINISTRATIVE (Corporate; n=2) (Exec. Dir.; Peogramming Dir.)	32 yrs.	5.5 yrs.			2/2	1/2 (candidate)	10 years
ADMIN.-SUPERVISORY (Corporate; n=1) (Program Supervisor)	28 yrs.	2 yrs. 8 mos.			1/1	1/1 (candidate)	4 years
SUPERVISORY (Corporate; n=3) (2 Placement Coords., 1 Home Finder)	35 yrs. (29yrs.)**	6 mos.			1/3	2/3 (candidates)	3.25 years (does not incl Homefinder who experienced as foster parent)
RECEP/INTA. UNIT (Direct Service; n=7)							Prior Related YES / NO
(1) Unit Director	25yrs.	1yr.2mos.		1/1			1/1 / --
(4)F.T.CCW^S (Day/Eves)	N.A.	10 mos.	2/4	2/4			4/4 / --
(2)F.T.CCW^S (Nights)	N.A.	N.A.	1/2	1/2			N.A / N.
(3) Volunteer Interns (not in profile)							
FOSTER PARENTS (CDP Direct Service; n=6)	27yrs.	1yr.3mos.		1/6	5/6 (2 are candidates)	1/6 (candidate)	3.8 years
(CDPFC Direct Service; n=3)	44.6yrs.	2yrs.5mos.	2/3	1/3(candidate)			6.0 years

*Note: Only 3 of the 9 foster parents interviewed were from the CDPFC program. These staff were selected from a stratified random sample.

**Note: 29 yrs. is the median for the 3 staff.

CLINICAL COMPONENT

Since the CDP is designed as a detention program, there is no distinct treatment component. Clinical services are functionally dispersed throughout several of the program components. Clinical aspects of intake assessment are presented in the INTAKE section; other related services will be presented here for purposes of clarity. These services include: the input of the Center corporate Clinical Director; training for Intake Unit staff, foster parents and their outside consultants. These services are uniformly viewed by staff as contributing to the overall goal of providing detained youths with a safe and supportive temporary environment.

Corporate Input

The Center corporate Clinical Director stated that he:

a. divides his allotted on-contract time equally between CDP and CDPFC operations but keeps no written record of on-contract time;
b. supervises the CDP Program Supervisor formally for one hour every other week and informally as needed; supervises the CDP Placement Coordinators informally, three-four times weekly; supervises all administrative program staff in a regularly scheduled group meeting every other week; supervises all units separately on an as-needed basis;
c. screens potential foster parents and prepares training sessions for them by working closely with CDP Homefinder;
d. directly trains CDPFC foster parents and indirectly trains CDP staff and foster parents by disseminating training through the Supervisor and Placement Coordinators. The Clinical Director stated that he had not personally trained the Bonneyview staff, nor any of the CDP houseparents and that his only direct training contact with them had been one 2 hour workshop;
e. provides direct crisis intervention to all units on an as-needed basis. He estimated that this has not occurred more than 4 times in the last 6 months and most likely consisted of "calming a youth down who was at the Center office";
f. recruits clinical consultants and presents them to all units for their approval and utilization. He stated that

there are currently "4 or 5 consultants" whom he had recruited from among professional colleagues in the area (see below).

Clinical Staff Training

According to the Clinical Director and Program Supervisor, all units are given equivalent training consisting of workshop series. The Clinical Director stated that a training package consists of three phases: preparation for intake, including Juvenile Justice System issues and procedures, and concepts of adolescent behavior and development; placement maintenance, including informal (counseling) interaction, behavior management, crisis intervention and household management; and placement termination, including separation issues and termination procedures. Presentation of written materials, discussion and role-play techniques are used in these trainings. In addition, the Intake Unit staff are reportedly trained in behavioral assessment and observation. The CDP Program Supervisor who, along with the Placement Coordinators, is responsible for training CDP staff, stated that the training package in use is adequate but that the program is reviewing its effectiveness and is open to improvements.

Crisis-Related Support

The Placement Coordinators and Program Supervisor provide on-call support to all units. This was reported to be primarily telephone assistance, although unit staff stated that on-site assistance occurred when necessary. All staff expressed satisfaction with the level of assistance available.

Clinical Consultants

As stated above, consultants are recruited by the Clinical Director and presented to the units for their approval.

The intended goal of such consultation was uniformly stated by all interviewees as being that of providing clinical support for the Intake staff and CDP houseparents in areas of crisis intervention, behavioral management, short-term informal counseling process issues, staff role relations and

stress related marital issues. Each of the CDP unit budgets includes a line item sum for such services (see Budget/ Contract section for further discussion). Once the houseparents decide to utilize a particular consultatn, regularly scheduled weekly sessions are held. Consultants are required to file a monthly written report with the CDP Program Supervisor, which is also reviewed by the Clinical Director.

The ET reviewed all consultant monthly reports on file. The ET found that two of the CDP two bed homes which were visited expressed dissatisfaction with the relevancy of consultant support. Although it was reported that there are "4 or 5 consultants" available, the only monthly reports on file were those of two consultants. The reports of one consultant covered two months of work in staff training for the Recep./ Int. Unit and were relatively comprehensive. The other consultant reported on nine months of work with one set of CDP foster parents and three months with another set of houseparents. The reports of this consultant were not very detailed. One houseparent suggested that the services of this consultant, although professional, are largely irrelevant to the needs of detention foster care, and stated that he had terminated consultation.

Houseparent/Staff Interaction with Youths

According to interviews with staff, there is essentially no formal counseling interaction with youths. All staff interviewed indicated that there is a great deal of informal counseling-type conversation with detainees. Such interaction often concerns day-to-day issues of living inthe home, as well as youths' concerns over what options face them following court decisions. A commonly-stated goal of staff was that youths should be clearly apprised of all potential outcomes of their case, in order that they not be confused and negatively affected by the workings of the Juvenile Justice System. Although it was reported that, at times, almost 50% of the detained population are recidivists awaiting re-location, staff did not indicate the existence of any supplementary counseling services for these youths (see also Intake Termination sections).

Evaluative

Overall, the ET found that the Center staff having clinical input into detention programming all appeared to be highly dedicated, well-trained, competent individuals. The following evaluative recommendations are intended to support staff efforts to maximize goal attainment in the area of clinical services.

It is recommended that:

CL-1. The Clinical Director's input into CDP operation be explicitly detailed in any and all future contracts. At present, the FY-78 contracts do not delineate his responsibilities to the clinical needs of the programs.
CL-2. The Clinical Director maintain an approximate record of the time he spends on-contract for CDP operations. Such a record could be easily culled from appointment book entries on a monthly basis, and would provide an ongoing means for the Agency and the Department to review the percentage of corporate time commitment needed by the programs.
CL-3. The Clinical Director's supervisory duties be formalized in regard to on-site review/supervision of CDP units, especially the central Intake/relocation unit and the proposed shelter care unit. Although the level and quality of supervision is currently acceptable, it is believed that the Clinical Director's input on a regular basis (vs. "as needed") will be invaluable to these units. Minimally, a monthly half-day on-site review meeting is suggested; with more frequent review-supervision being maintained, as is presently, by the CDP Program Supervision and Placement Coordinators.
CL-4. The Clinical Director take a direct role in the training of CDP unit staff. The current arrangement (direct training of CDPFC Staff, indirect training of CDP staff through Program Supervisor, etc.) minimizes direct training contact between the Clinical Director and those unit staff who serve the more critical portion of the detention population. It is believed that the Clinical Director is best qualified to conduct initial and follow-up training sessions with these staff.
CL-5. The Clinical Director establish a means of more thoroughly reviewing the relevancy and effectiveness of consultant services to CDP units. The ET was concerned both with the

variance in the detail of consultant reports and the expressed dissatisfaction by houseparents. It is suggested that, following an intial interview with the Clinical Director and the houseparents/unit staff, prospective consultants be requested to submit a proposal for supportive intervention. Such proposals would of course remain flexible to the changing needs of staff, but should identify specific goals, reasonable outcome measures, and plausible time-frames for their attainment. Given this type of approach, or something similar, a more stringent review of the cost-effectiveness of consultant services could be made by the Clinical Director and Program Supervisor; a former basis for making administrative decisions to enhance or terminate consultant monies would be available.

CL-6. The CDP initial staff training package be re-assessed by the Agency and consideration be given to extending the training to one and one-half full weeks. Further, it is suggested that clinical training (discussions, role-play) be separated from other areas of training. An improved approach might include holding systems and clinical training sessions on alternate days with homework review assignments and/or summary reviews held toward the end of the sessions. Follow-up workshop training sessions of at least one-half day duration should be held at three and six months following initial training. These would serve to improve the continuity of training, allow for needed review of information, and enable the Agency to assess the effectiveness of initial training by allowing trainees to compare the usefulness of training material against actual experience. Greater emphasis could also be placed on site-visit sessions at existing facilities. Although the present training package appeared to be comprehensive, the basis for recommendation CL-6 stems from the expressed concern of a majority of unit staff that current training duration is too brief. According to interviewees, such brevity results in large quantities of information being presented all at once, interspersed with clinical role-play experiences and discussion. The net result of this is that trainees can become confused by the information overload, and do not have enough time to maximally assimilate the training concepts.

CL-7. The CDP Program Supervisor conduct a monthly review of houseparent/unit staff performance as a measure of training effectiveness. Such a review process would involve keeping

monthly written records of supervisory sessions which would make note of specific training outcome measures. This would provide the Agency with an on-going means by which to review and analyze training and supervision efforts which would complement follow-up training sessions noted in CL-6.

CL-8. The Center administrative staff address the need for more structured counseling services for youths in each unit. Short-term counseling for detainees, as opposed to depth counseling and treatment plan development, is both viable and necessary. Short-term counseling and treatment needs assessment should be required for all relocation youths and the Agency should define its role in this effort as it relates to the Department Caseworker responsibilities. The ET was concerned that there is insufficient emphasis placed on ensuring that counseling occurs regularly. Although daily direct interaction was reportedly high, youth interviews suggested that problem-centered counseling-type, interaction may often occur at the youth's initiative, or, as stated by some staff, occur when the staff notices "something wrong". The inconsistencies in interview reports of the frequency of counseling correlates with an observed variability in the degree to which youths seemed to understand their options within the system. Some of those youths who were strictly detention status (and "newer" to the system) did not report that their options within the system had been clearly explained by staff. This points to an inconsistency, among youths and across unit placements, in the Agency's effectiveness in achieving its stated goal of system clarification. These impressions imply that a more structured approach to counseling (i.e. daily time set aside to discuss issues) which would be both problem and system-oriented could act to improve overall program effectiveness.

BEHAVIORAL CONTROLS

Each of the CDP facilities at which site visits were made were found to have a written set of house rules. At each facility, youths, upon intake, are either given a copy of the rules or are orally familiarized with them by staff. Youth input into house rules varied across units yet existed to some extent at each. Rules were of standard nature covering use of facility, curfews, responsibility toward staff and interpersonal behavior. Punishment for rule infractions was fixed for major rules and flexible (negotiable) for minor ones. Standard punishment

included loss of outside privileges, loss of cigarette privileges, and room restriction. No incidents of corporal punishment were reported by staff or youths.

It was reported by the male Houseparent at the 5 bed facility that a behavior control system based on "rational emotive therapy" (RET) was in use. Although through interviews the ET felt that this system was both effective and had a positive short term outcome for youths, the Team would have liked to spend more time on-site observing its implementation, since such behavior management systems rely heavily on consistent and sensitive use by well-trained staff. Also, it was reported by the houseparents that manipulation of meals was used as a form or punishment in conjunction with the RET approach.

Behavior management at the Intake Unit, although standard in terms of house rules/punishments, was observed to rely strongly on the containment of youths in the basement "workshop" area. It is understood that this practice may be a logistical necessity, yet it is indicative to boredom, interpersonal flare-ups and also in part to the Units' run-rate (see Termination section for run-rate discussion).

All Center staff interviewed reported having had some level of training in crisis intervention and supportive counseling. Reports from interviews indicated that each unit has reasonably standardized methods of dealing with major emotional outbursts. Although it was reported that such incidents have been rare, there was a reported consistency across units in methods of handling them. Staff back-up crisis intervention was uniformly reported by unit staff to be available from CDP clinical/supervisory staff. The ultimate last-resort in major incidents consists of transporting unmanageable youths to the Secure Detention Center for containment.

Evaluative

As stated above, behavior practices were found to be reasonable, comprehensive and consistently enforced. No violations of youths' rights (see DYS Detention Manual: Youths Bill of Rights) were in evidence, with the exception of the use of food manipulation as punishment at the 5 bed facility. The follow-

ing recommendations are offered for improvement of behavior management efforts:

BC-1: The manipulation or use of food as a means of punishment is prohibited under OFC regulations. This practice must cease immediately in any form.

BC-2: The integration is commended as innovative and could have a positive effect in preparation of youths for potential other placements. It is suggested that CDP clinical and supervisory staff assess the viability of training staff in these or similar methods and requiring implementation in all units. Were this done, the Center could improve goal-achievement through this component vis-a-vis its overall goal of providing supportive pre-placement services. It is felt that the cost of training would be outweighed by the potential benefit to this programmatic component.

BC-3: The containment of youths at the Intake facility, as described above, should be re-assessed in light of programming efforts. The Center staff should be aware that staff coverage and deficiencies in programming capabilities contribute to difficulties in behavior management. Further, confinement of youths to a small, poorly ventilated area for large chunks of daily scheduling detracts from program efforts to maximize placement preparation (see Program Schedule for further elaboration).

THE CENTER EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The desirability of providing educational exposure to those youngsters being maintained in the Center detention/relocation system has been recognized since the inception of the program, particularly in light of the fact that some youth are retained for one or even 2 months care. Due to funding limitations within the Center/DYS contract this issue has not been seriously addressed until this year. With the availability of Title I supplementary resources, a very small essentially token effort to acknowledge and service the educational needs of these youth has been established. The 5 units within the Center serving up to 21 youth are provided the service of a half time Title

I teacher who travels a circuit averaging two hours of educational service to each unit a week. The other half of the teacher's time is applied as a supplement to the in-house educational program at SDC. As an efficient distribution of resources this arrangement defies logic as SDC has a staff of 3 full-time teachers for 21 residents, a one to 7 teacher to student ratio, compared to the 1 to 42 teacher to student ratio provided by the half time teacher assigned to the Center, the community based alternative to SDC. As the youth in the total Region A detention/relocation system are essentially interchangeable, depending on circumstances having nothing whatsoever to do with educational need, this highly disproportionate allotment of educational resources seem to make no sense at all. Presumably this situation exists in that Title I is designed as a supplement to existing resources and where SDC is budgeted for teachers and, thereby, qualifies for Title I assistance, the Center is not. This explanation, as accurate as it may be, does not address the educational needs of the youth in the Center. The teacher reports that to this point, neither Title I or the Center have been able to provide her with sufficient educational materials and were it not for the materials which she borrows or copies from SDC, she would have no materials to utilize in the field. According to the teacher, the lack of materials extends to supplies as basic as paper, pencils and access to a copier. Recently, however, a Title I representative from Boston requested a grocery list of necessary educational supplies and materials and hopefully this situation will be alleviated in the near future.

Interview - Title I full-time Teacher
(Assignment: half-time Center - Half-time SEcure Detention Center)

The teacher relates that she has been in her present position since February, 1978. She was recruited by the Title I Regional Administrator through public advertisement and interview. She holds a bachelors degree in education and has substantial experience in tutorial education within several programs. She will be pursuing a Master's degree in Special Education at the University of Massachusetts in the Fall. She hopes to continue employment in her present position.

The teacher clearly identifies her role and her mandate as that of a teacher and reports that she is received as such by the staff and the youth within the CDP units. Administrators at both SDC and CDP describe her as a highly professional teacher who is successful in motivating youth to do school work. Her schedule is known to the units in advance and it is the unit staff's responsibility to have the youth available on her arrival. Participation is voluntary. The teacher describes her approach as, "I'd like you to try this" and this is why it is important. From her experience she has learned that the majority of the youth function at the 4th or 5th grade equivalent so she brings materials at this level. Initially she presents a group exercise, ordinarily a work puzzle, and selects some youth to work with individually who appear to need help or are particularly interested. The primary emphasis appears to be on reading skills, however, the teacher states that she brings math materials along if someone were to express particular interest. Upon completion of working with a youth, she attempts to inform the staff as to what the youth could do to follow up with the materials they have been working on. The teacher describes her reception among the units as varied, depending somewhat on the personalities of the unit head, but generally satisfactory. As a general rule, those units which rely more heavily on interns and outside individuals coming into the unit are less responsive than the smaller more self contained units. She does not think that her very limited time spent with each unit/each youth is fruitless although she believes that two more teachers would be necessary to make the system really viable and productive. The most frustrating aspect of her position has been the lack of materials. The teacher believes that she could set up a meaningful and interesting curriculum for the Center homes if she had access to high interest/low level materials such as the P.A.L. series. She would like to provide diagnostic reading (Gilmore) and math testing as is performed at SDC. She also would like to expose the youth to social studies, geography and career selections.

The teacher is supervised by 2 individuals. Within CDP she is responsible to the Program Supervisor and also meets on a weekly basis with the Title I regional administrator along with the Title I personnel who provide supplementary educational

services to 5 other programs within the region. The teacher feels that she receives adequate support from both agencies and obviously finds the SDC educational staff very helpful. In regards to job preparation and training there appears to be no formal mechanism in place. The teacher reports that she was introduced to the homes by her predecessor and from that point assumed her predecessors schedule.

In summary, the educational component within CDP is very modest at this stage of development. The desirability of providing more comprehensive educational services to detention/relocation youth in Region A is not in question by CDP, the Region or Title I persons; the limitations are simply fiscal. The Title I supplement is in itself insufficient and one might question the logic of the disproportionate allocation of resources to the secure detention facility. It would be more productive, however, to consider how CDP might obtain services commensurate to those available to SDC rather than reallocating more equitably presently existing resources.

TERMINATION COMPONENT

Due to the limited number of evaluation personnel and the relatively brief on-site period, the ET did not attempt to compile comparative termination charts on the CDP youths. Data was instead collected for this component through staff interviews and run-rate termination statistics provided by the CDP Program Supervisor.

Routine client termination from the detention programs is differential. For those youths whose status is strictly detention, termination coincides with the courts' decision. For youths who are detained and awaiting relocation, termination depends on the availability of a viable placement, as determine by the DYS caseworker. As stated in the Intake Section, up to approximately 40% of the detained population may be on relocation status at any given time; with approximate placement duration ranging from two weeks to two months. According to staff, there are no major differences in the nature of services offered to the relocation group, nor are preparations for relocation termination plan assessment and input to the DYS decision for future placement is minimal.

Program records and monthly reports of negative terminations (runs) from both the CDP programs were reviewed by the Et, this review included a breakdown of all runs, regardless of return status, from the Recep./Int. Unit, the four CDP Units and twenty-one CDPFC Homes from which runs occurred. The review was conducted from program data from July 1, 1977 through April 1978, inclusive. For the CDP, the following breakdown emerged (Unit names abbreviated for confidentiality):

TABLE T-1: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RUNS BY UNIT

	Intake	5 bed	2 bed	2 bed	2 bed
No. for 10 mos.	28	1	5	7	4
% total of CDP runs	62.2%	2.2%	11.1%	15.5%	8.8%

For the CDPFC, out of the twenty-one homes, three contributed most to the total number of runs during the sample period:

No. 1: 38.2%; No. 2: 11%; No. 3: 11%. For the two detention programs combined, 55% of all runs were from CDPFC homes, while 45% were from CDPFC units.

Evaluative

Although overall the CDPFC run rates are commendably low (a reported yearly average run-loss rate of 6.85% of all intakes is among the lowest, statewide), the figures presented above can be interpreted to indicate a critical distribution of programmatic strengths and weaknesses. If it is assumed that intake population characteristics are a constant, then total unit-specific runs can be correlated with programming effectiveness. The ET believes that this type of correlation is necessary in addition to run-loss rate statistical analysis, since it provides the administrative and supervisory staff with trend indications upon which to base administrative decisions for programmatic improvement. For example, the CDP home which accounted for 38.2% of all runs was reported by staff to be "over-used". Such an impression by staff would

have been confirmed by scanning % runs in comparison to other units. Further, more sophisticated statistical analysis of run-rates from one of the many area colleges. Data analysis on population parameter, (i.e. age, sex, recidivist level, detention vs. relocation), Units, time of day vs. staff coverage, etc., could be cast in an analysis of regression design and possibly provide useful information to program administrators. Again, the CDP run-loss rate leaves little (save perfection) to be desired; these suggestions are means as encouragement toward further improvement.

Finally, in view od CDP's proposed Shelter Care Unit, it is hoped that relocation status youths will be afforded more in the way of services while being held. Average termination levels (length of stay) for these youths will probably not decline significantly:, due to case-related difficulties and availability of appropriate placements it is, therefore, of the greatest importance that significantly increased programmatic services be provided. It is recommended that the DYS conduct an evaluation of the proposed unit at least within eight months following its inception.

RECORDS

All records from the CDP programs are kept in the Center's main office in locked file cabinets. The corporate secretary attached to the programs is in charge of filing and reviewing the availability of records on each youth. According to the secretary, there are no restrictions on any Center staff reviewing a youth's file, there are no signout procedures for the files, there is no copy of the Mass. Freedom of Information Practices Act (Mass. F.I.P.A.), covering client confidentiality, at the facility, nor, to her knowledge, are any of the staff familiar with its restrictions.

Client-related material on file is minimal, due to detention practices. Each file was reported to contain CDP intake forms, medical release forms and, in some cases, material from the court. The ET reviewed a sample of client files in which two files were selected at random from each letter of the alphabet. Where time permitted, additional files were scanned availability of materials.

Evaluative.

With few exceptions, all folders reviewed contained the stipulated forms, all forms were completed and up to date. The filing system was very well organized and accessible. The only recommendations that the ET would like to make are the following two:

R-1: The CDP Program Supervisor obtain a copy of the Mass. F.I.P.A., require all relevant staff to familiarize themselves with it and post the copy in the file room. The program secretary establish and maintain sign-out procedures for releasing files to all other than essential CDP staff.

R-2: The CDP Program Supervisor revise the intake form to include greater information on client drug-use history. Specifically, the Et feels that it would benefit the program clinical staff to establish a data base on the use of phencyclidine (PCP), etc. This drug has been recently found to cause violent, aggressive or otherwise

hostile outbursts in large numbers of individuals who take it; it can have prolonged after-effects and its use is very prevalent among adolescents.